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See ii. 123. D'Israeli's
Calamities of Authors.

AN
Hiſtorical Account
OF THE
LIFE and WRITINGS
Of the late Eminently Famous
Mr. *JOHN TOLAND.*

Containing,

I. A faithful Extract of his WORKS, and an Account of his TRAVELS in *Germany*, *Holland*, &c.

II. An Account of the CONTROVERSIES wherein he was engaged, and a particular Enquiry into his PRINCIPLES; His *Philoſophick Reſignation* to the *Divine Will*, and his *Notions of Futurity* at the Time of his *Deceaſe*.

III. An exact Catalogue of his WRITINGS, publiſhed both with, and without his Name, and of the Manuſcripts he left behind him.

By one of his moſt intimate FRIENDS.

In a Letter to the Lord ****

LONDON,
Printed: And Sold by J. ROBERTS in *Warwick-lane*; W. MEARS, at the *Lamb* without *Temple-Bar*; J. BROTHERTON in *Cornhill*; J. GRAVES in *St. James's-ſtreet*; and W. CHETWOOD in *Covent-Garden*. M. DCC. XXII.

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AN HISTORICAL ACCOUNT OF THE LIFE OF Mr. *JOHN TOLAND.*

In a LETTER to the Lord ***

MY LORD,

THE *affectionate Concern* expreſſed by your Lordſhip, for the Loſs of *our departed Friend* Mr. TOLAND, has made me with ſome Pleaſure *attempt* the *Task* of giving a faithful Account of the

Man from *his own Works*; tho' I know myſelf very unequal to it, being ſenſible that the Writer who purſues this *Attempt*, ſhould be *animated*, (as a late *Biographer* obſerves*) with a *Portion* of that *Genius* which made the *Perſon*, whom he draws for the Knowledge and Imitation of Poſterity, *famous in his Generation*. But the Reputation of our Author hath received ſo great a Brightneſs from his own Pen, that it needs no auxiliary Light to increaſe its Luſtre; and his Character is ſo ſecure from his own *Works*, *the immortal Monuments of his true Worth*, that I am the leſs concerned for my own Inability to embalm his Memory: eſpecially ſince I hope the *Subjects treated of* will make ſome Amends for thoſe Defects that may ariſe from the manner of handling them.

As to the trifling Aſperſions caſt upon his Memory ſince his Deceaſe, we ought to look on them (as he would have done, had they been ſaid of any other Perſon) with the utmoſt Contempt, being warranted ſo to do from a Race of Men now amongſt us, and thoſe too of the Eccleſiaſtical Function, who have *lampooned*

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* *See Mr.* Nelſon's *Life of Biſhop* Bull, *p.* 3.

their

their Creator for making them rational *. *Such Men*, continues the ſame judicious Writer, *ſeem perfectly diſtracted at the juſt Diſappointment they have met with, in the Loſs of their Intereſt and Reputation among their Friends; and to revenge themſelves, having prepared a Compoſition of Rage, Malice, and Uncharitableneſs, and lighted it with a blind and burning Zeal, they draw Clouds and Darkneſs all around them, put themſelves into a wild Confuſion, and ſcatter their Indignation, (the Overflowings of a diſturbed Imagination) at random* †.

I ſhall make it my utmoſt Endeavour to copy after Mr. *Toland* upon a like Occaſion ‖; "Obſerving in this Performance "the Rules of a faithful Hiſtorian, being "neither provoked by Malice, nor bribed "by Favour, and as well daring to ſay "all that is True, as ſcorning to write "any Falſhood; I ſhall not be too minute "in relating the ordinary Circumſtances "of his Life, and which are common to "him with all other Men. Writings of "this Nature, ſhould, in my Opinion, be "deſigned to recommend Virtue, and to "expoſe Vice; or to illuſtrate Hiſtory,

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* *See Mr.* Morgan's *Tract, entitled*, The Abſurdity of oppoſing *Faith to Reaſon*, 8vo. p. 2.

† *See his* Life *of* Milton, 8*vo.* p. 6, 7.

‖ *See his* Nature *and* Conſequences *of* Enthuſiaſm, *p.* 38.

" and to preſerve the Memory of extra-
" ordinary Things. In the Characters of
" Sects, and Parties, Books, or Opinions,
" I ſhall produce his own Words, as I
" find them in his Works; that thoſe who
" approve his Reaſons, may owe all the
" Obligation to himſelf, and that I may
" eſcape the blame of ſuch as may diſlike
" what he ſays". In order to ſuch an im-partial Proceedure, I ſhall lay before your Lordſhip the Account which Mr. *Toland* gives both of himſelf and his Adverſaries, at the beginning almoſt of his commencing an Author.

We are informed by himſelf*, that he was born on the 30th Day of *November*, 1669, in the Kingdom of *Ireland*. At what Time he left his native Country, I cannot exactly determine; but it appears by his Writings to have been not long after the *Glorious Revolution* of 1688. It is plain that the Confuſions in his own Country, obliged him *to retire hither*, for in *September* 1698, he thus concludes his *Life* of *Milton*, addreſſed to *Thomas Rawlins* of *Kilreag*, in *Herefordſhire* Eſq; (whom he ſtiles his *beſt Friend*:) " And
" now, *Sir*, I end with you with whom
" I begun, not doubting but this ſmall
" Preſent, both from the Dignity of the

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* *See his Preface to Mr.* Harrington's *Works.*

" Sub-

" Subject, and your Favour to the Wri-
" ter, will be kindly accepted. It may
" indeed be the more plain and unpoliſhed,
" but not the leſs uſeful or ſincere for
" coming out of a *Country Retirement*.
" The moſt knowing Perſons acknow-
" ledge that Divine Philoſophy herſelf
" was begot in the Woods, where agree-
" ably paſſing her Infancy, and growing
" up in the neighbouring Fields, ſhe be-
" came gentle in Time, and ſo ventured
" to come into Towns and Cities; but
" being quickly wearied there with the
" Tumult of Buſineſs or Faction, and
" longing for her former Tranquillity,
" ſhe ſtraight retired into Gardens or
" Groves, to her Fields and Woods again.
" 'Tis probable that you (as well as I, or
" any other) may diſapprove of *Milton*'s
" Sentiments in ſeveral Caſes; but, I am
" ſure, you are far from being diſpleaſed
" to find them particularized in the Hi-
" ſtory of his Life: for we ſhould have
" no true Account of Things, if Authors
" related nothing but what they liked
" themſelves; one Party would never ſuf-
" fer the Lives of *Tarquin*, or *Phalaris*,
" or *Sylla*, or *Cæſar* to appear; while
" another would be as ready to ſuppreſs
" thoſe of *Cicero*, of *Cato*, of *Trajan*, or
" *Brutus*. But a Hiſtorian ought to con-
" ceal or diſguiſe nothing, and the Rea-

" der

" der is to be left Judge of the Virtues " he ſhould imitate, or the Vices he ought " to deteſt and avoid, without ever loving " his Book the leſs; for (as the Lord *Ba-* " *con* truly ſaid) *a forbidden Writing, is* " *thought to be a certain Spark of Truth,* " *that flies up in the Faces of them who* " *ſeek to tread it out.* But your extra- " ordinary Judgment and Candour, joined " to the beſt Learning, and an exact " Knowledge of Men and Affairs, render " my farther inculcating of theſe Maxims " very needleſs; and therefore I ſhall on- " ly put you in mind, *Sir*, that my Deſire " of gratifying your Curioſity, conquer'd " my Averſion to write any thing during " this pleaſanteſt Seaſon of the Year."

I have recited the whole Concluſion, to ſhew with how much Caution he proceeded in Writing the Life of that *Great Man*, notwithſtanding which he met with many Cavillers *, in Anſwer to whom, he publiſhed in the beginning of the Year 1699, AMYNTOR: or, a *Defence* of MILTON'S *Life*. In the beginning of which Work he thus addreſſes his *Friend*: 'The Public (*ſays he*) is ſo ſel- 'dom intereſted in the Debates of private 'Men, and I am ſo little concerned at 'the Malice or Miſtakes of my Adverſa-

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* *Dr.* Blackall, *late Biſhop of* Exeter. *Mr.* Wagſtaf, *&c.*

'ries,

'ries, that, without ſome better Mo-
'tive, I would never preſume to trouble
'the World with any thing merely Per-
'ſonal. But if the Subject in Queſtion
'be of extraordinary Weight and Conſe-
'quence, and that on the certain Deciſion
'of it, ſhould depend the Tranquillity of
'a conſiderable Number of People; then I
'think a Man is indiſpenſably obliged to
'appear for the Truth: and ſo, while he
'is endeavouring to ſerve others, nobody
'will ſay he ought to neglect his own
'Defence.——— When I undertook to
'write the Life of the moſt celebrated
'*Milton*, I was far from imagining that
'I ſhould ever be obliged to make an
'Apology in Juſtification of ſuch a Work,
'both harmleſs in itſelf, and greatly de-
'ſired by the World.——Inſtead of any
'*real* Objections, I am expreſly told,
'that I ought not to meddle with *Mil-*
'*ton*'s Books, nor to revive his Senti-
'ments, or the Memory of thoſe Quarrels
'wherein he was engaged; which is only,
'in other Words, that I ought not to
'write his Life at all. For what, I
'pray, is the principal part of a Learned
'Man's Life, but the exact Hiſtory of
'his Books and Opinions, to inform the
'World about the Occaſion of his Wri-
'ting, what it contained, how he per-
'formed it, and with what Conſequen-

'ces

'ces or Succeſs? —— Ay but, ſay
'theſe Gentlemen, you have made an
'Inroad on our Perſuaſion, and directly
'attacked the ſacred Majeſty of Kings,
'the venerable Order of Biſhops, the
'beſt conſtituted Church in the World,
'our holy Liturgy, and decent Ceremo-
'nies, the Authority of Councils, the
'Teſtimony of the Fathers, and a hun-
'dred other Things which we profoundly
'reſpect and admire!——For the trivial
'and ſcurrilous Libels of mercenary Fel-
'lows, I ſhall never regard, they being
'already ſufficiently neglected by the
'World, and making themſelves as little
'by this Practice, as any of a more
'vindictive Temper could deſire: ——
'But when I am openly accuſed before
'the greateſt Aſſembly in the World,
'let the Charge be never ſo frivolous
'in it ſelf, or to be ſlighted on any other
'Occaſion, yet ſuch a Reſpect is due to
'the Dignity of thoſe to whom it was
'exhibited, that I hold my ſelf obliged
'to convince them of my Innocence;
'and to remove all Suſpicion far from
'me, of what in its own Nature is ac-
'knowledged to be Criminal, or by
'them might be reputed Indecent. The
'Matter of Fact is this: On the 30th
'of *January*, ($16\frac{9}{99}\frac{8}{9}$) Mr. *Offſpring*
'*Blackall*, who ſtiles himſelf *Chaplain*

'in

'*in Ordinary to his Majesty*, preached
'a Sermon before the Honourable House
'of Commons; wherein, after exclaim-
'ing against the Author of *Milton*'s Life,
'for denying *Icon Basilike* to be the
'Production of King *Charles* the First,
'he pursues his Accusation in these
'Terms. We may cease to wonder, says
'he, that he should have the Boldness,
'without Proof, and against Proof, to
'deny the Authority of this Book, who
'is such an Infidel as to doubt, and is
'shameless and impudent enough, even
'in Print, and in a Christian Country,
'publickly to affront our Holy Religi-
'on, by declaring his Doubt, that several
'Pieces under the Name of Christ and his
'Apostles (he must mean those now re-
'ceiv'd by the whole Christian Church,
'for I know of no other) are suppositi-
'tious; tho' thro' the remoteness of those
'Ages, the Death of the Persons concern'd,
'and the Decay of other Monuments,
'which might give us true Information, the
'Spuriousness thereof is yet undiscover'd.
'Here is indeed (*says Mr.* TOLAND) a
'Charge of a very high Nature, I will not
'say in his own mean Language, an *impu-*
'*dent* and a *shameless one*; tho if it be
'not better proved, I cannot hinder others
'from calling it what they please, or the
'thing deserves. But before I proceed

'to make Obſervations on it, I ſhall inſert
'the entire Paſſage (out of the Life of
'*Milton*) which he has taken the liberty of
'abridging, and ſo joining the Words of
'*two* widely different Aſſertions, as if they
'were but *one*.

'After ſtating the Proofs therefore
'that Dr. *Gauden*, and not King *Charles*,
'was the true Author of *Icon Baſilike*,
'I added a very natural Obſervation in
'the following Words. "When I ſeriouſly
" conſider how all this happened among
" ourſelves within the Compaſs of Forty
" Years, in a time of great Learning and
" Politeneſs, when both Parties ſo narrow-
" ly watched over one another's Actions,
" and what a great Revolution in Civil
" and Religious Affairs was partly occa-
" ſioned by the Credit of that Book *; I
" ceaſe to wonder any longer how ſo ma-
" ny ſuppoſititious Pieces under the Name
" of *Chriſt*, his Apoſtles, and other great
" Perſons, ſhould be publiſhed and ap-
" proved in thoſe Primitive Times, when
" it was of ſo much Importance to have
" 'em believ'd; when the Cheats were
" too many on all Sides for them to re-
" proach one another, which yet they
" often did; when Commerce was not
" near ſo general as now, and the whole
" Earth entirely overſpread with the

* Icon Baſilike.

" Dark-

" Darkneſs of Superſtition. I doubt ra-
" ther the Spuriouſneſs of ſeveral more
" ſuch Books is yet undiſcovered, thro the
" Remoteneſs of thoſe Ages, the Death of
" the Perſons concerned, and the Decay of
" other Monuments, which might give us
" true Information †." Here then, in the
'firſt place, it is plain, that, I ſay, a
'great many ſpurious Books were early
'fathered on Chriſt, his Apoſtles, and
'other great Names, part whereof are
'ſtill acknowledged to be genuine, and
'the reſt to be forged; in neither of which
'Aſſertions I could be juſtly ſuppoſed to
'mean any Books of the New Teſtament,
'as I ſhall preſently evince. But Mr.
'*Blackall* affirms, That I muſt intend
'*thoſe now received by the whole Chri-*
'*ſtian Church, for he knows of no other.*
'But had Mr. *Blackall* been diſpoſed to
'deal ingenuouſly with me, he might
'ſee, without the help of the Fathers,
'that I did not mean the Books of the
'New Teſtament, when I mentioned Sup-
'poſititious Pieces under the Name of
'Chriſt, ſince there is none aſcribed to
'him in the whole Bible; nor do we read
'there that ever he wrote any thing, ex-
'cept once with his Finger on the
'Ground, when he acquitted the Woman

† See, The Life of *Milton*, pag. 91.

'taken in Adultery, *John* viii. 5, 6. And, 'for aught appears to the contrary, Mr. '*Blackall* may deny that to be any 'Writing, becauſe he knows not what it 'was; yet ſome *German* Divines, as well 'read as himſelf, have preſumed to tell 'us the Contents of it, and came almoſt to 'excommunicating one another in their 'ſolemn Diſputes about this weighty 'Affair. To this Negative Argument 'from the Silence of the New Teſtament, 'we may add the Poſitive Teſtimony of 'St. *Auguſtin* and St. *Jerom*, whereof the 'former affirms, That the Lord himſelf 'wrote * nothing; which makes it neceſ-'ſary we ſhould believe thoſe who have 'written of him: And the latter ſays, 'That † our Saviour left no Volume of his 'own Doctrine behind him, as is extra-'vagantly feigned in moſt of the Apochry-'phal Pieces.

'Now to convince all the World that I 'did not intend by thoſe Pieces the Books 'of the New Teſtament, as well as to 'ſhew the Raſhneſs and Uncharitableneſs 'of Mr. *Blackall*'s Aſſertion, —— *the*

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* Dicit Auguſtinus (de Conſenſu Evangel. l. 1. c. 7.) quod ipſe Dominus nihil ſcripſerit, ut aliis de illo ſcribentibus neceſſe ſit credere.

† Salvator nullum volumen doctrinæ ſuæ proprium dereliquit, quod in pleriſq; Apochryphorum deliramenta confingunt. Hieronym. in Commentar. ad Ezechielis, cap. 44.

Reader

Reader is referred to a large Catalogue ‘of Books anciently aſcribed to *Jeſus* ‘*Chriſt*, his Apoſtles, their Acquaintance, ‘Companions and Contemporaries *.’

† *After exhibiting this Catalogue of Books, Mr.* Toland *thus proceeds:*

‘Here’s a long Liſt for Mr. BLACKALL, ‘who, ’tis probable, will not think the ‘more meanly of himſelf for being unac- ‘quainted with theſe Pieces; nor, if that ‘were all, ſhould I be forward to think ‘the worſe of him on this Account: ‘but I think he is to blame, for denying ‘that there were any ſuch, becauſe he ‘knew nothing of ’em; much leſs ſhould ‘he infer from thence, that I denied the ‘Scriptures; which Scandal however, be- ‘cauſe manifeſtly proceeding from Igno- ‘rance, I heartily forgive him, as every ‘*good Chriſtian* ought to do.

‘By the ſpurious Pieces, I meant, tho ‘not all, yet a good Parcel of thoſe Books ‘in the Catalogue, which I am perſuaded ‘were partly forged by ſome more zealous ‘than diſcreet Chriſtians, to ſupply the ‘Brevity of the Apoſtolic Memoirs; partly ‘by deſigning Men to ſupport their pri- ‘vate Opinions, which they hoped to ef-

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* See, *Amyntor*, &c. pag. 1, 6, 7, 9, & ſeq. to pag. 18.

† *See* Amyntor, *from* p. 20, *to* 42.

‘fect

'fect by virtue of ſuch reſpected Autho-
'rities: and ſome of 'em, I doubt, were
'invented by *Heathens* and *Jews*, to im-
'poſe on the Credulity of many well-diſ-
'poſed Perſons, who greedily ſwallowed
'any Book for Divine Revelation, that
'contained a great many Miracles, mixt
'with a few good Morals; while their *Ad-*
'verſaries laughed in their Sleeves all the
'while, to ſee their Tricks ſucceed, and
'were rivetted in their ancient Prejudices,
'by the greater Superſtition of ſuch En-
'thuſiaſts.'

For the farther Proſecution of this Debate, (in which I am certain every impartial Perſon will allow Mr. *Toland* to have manifeſtly the better of the Argument) I muſt refer to his Defence*. He concludes this Point with a remarkable Quotation from 'the famous Mr. *Dodwell*,
'who alone, *ſays he*, tho a Layman, un-
'derſtands as much of Eccleſiaſtic Hiſtory,
'as the Divines of all Churches put to-
'gether†. Mr. *Toland then reciting the unfair Treatment of his Adverſaries*‖, *thus ends the Debate*: 'I ſhall not be in
'great pain how ſuch People apprehend
'me, if I have the Happineſs to pleaſe

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* *See* Amyntor, *from* p. 43, *to* p. 69.
† Ibid. *from* p. 69, *to* p. 79.
‖ Ibid. p. 80.

'the

'the moderate and diſcerning Part of 'Mankind.'

The reſt of *Amyntor* is taken up with the *Hiſtory* of *Icon Baſilike*; which, in my Opinion, is a Diſpute of ſo little Importance to the Publick, that I will not load theſe Pages with the Recital of it. Nor would Mr. *Toland* himſelf have embarked in this Controverſy through the Merits of the Cauſe; for ſays he, 'I have 'not undertaken this Work out of Affec-'tion or Oppoſition to any Party, nor to 'reflect on the Memory of that unfortu-'nate Prince, whoſe officious Friends are 'much more concerned: but to clear my 'ſelf from a Publick Charge, and to diſ-'cover a pious Fraud, which deſerves not 'to be exempted from Cenſure for being 'the Contrivance of a Modern Biſhop, '(Dr. *Gauden* Biſhop of *Exeter*) no more 'than thoſe of the ancient Fathers of the '*Church* *. † There was never any poor 'Prince more notoriouſly abuſed by many 'of thoſe he took for his beſt Friends than 'CHARLES the Firſt. They put him 'on all thoſe unhappy Meaſures which 'proved his Ruin in the end. And as they 'made uſe of his Temper to ſerve their 'own Purpoſes when he was alive, ſo

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* *See* Amyntor, *p.* 85.

† Ibid. *p.* 100.

'they

'they did of his Name for the ſame Rea-
'ſon after his Death. They were not con-
'cerned ſo much for his Honour, as their
'own Intereſt; and having contrived this
'Forgery to carry their Cauſe, they
'thought themſelves afterwards obliged
'to ſupport it.' Now, my LORD, ſince there have been ſo many Arguments *Pro* and *Con*, about the Earl of *Angleſey*'s *Memorandum*, here is another *Bone* of *Contention*, which, when *thrown* among the *Loyal Squabblers*, will, I doubt not, raiſe a *new Ferment*. The Matter of Fact is this: At an Auction of Books which was held at *Button*'s Coffee-Houſe, in *Ruſſel-Street*, *Covent-Garden*, about *Chriſtmas* laſt, I bought Mr. TOLAND's *Amyntor*, or, a *Defence of* MILTON's *Life*; in the Hundred-and-twentieth Page whereof, is written, by one Dr. *Thompſon*, the following *Memorandum*:

Mr. John Wilſon, *Barriſter at Law, Author of The* Treatiſe of Monarchy, 8*vo.* *and of The* Vindication *of* Icon Baſilike, *againſt* Milton, *told me in Perſon, that he bought the* Icon Baſilike, Jan. 31. 1648. *for Ten Shillings, the very next Day after the King was beheaded.*

Fra. Thompſon *D. D.*

What

What this *Memorandum* will prove, I know not, unleſs it be that *Icon Baſilike* was to be had the next Day after the Martyrdom, whereas Mrs. *Gauden* declares that the Book was *not finiſhed till ſome few Days after his Majeſty was deſtroyed.* But as it came in my way, I freely give it up to the Uſe of the Diſputants in this Cauſe, to make their beſt of it; for which Purpoſe, the Book is left in the Hands of the Publiſher, Mr. *J. Roberts* in *Warwick-Lane*, who will readily produce it for the Satisfaction of any curious Perſon who deſires to ſee the ſame.

After this ſhort Digreſſion, I muſt obſerve, that Mr. *Blackall* publiſhed a very weak Rejoinder to the *Amyntor*, and ſome others attacked that Piece; but Mr. *Toland* prudently kept the Reſolution he had made: 'Notwithſtanding, *ſays he*, I may 'not anſwer every Scribler, yet I will be 'miſrepreſented and abuſed by no body 'worth my Notice.*'

I cannot, my Lord, leave this Article, without reciting a Paſſage or two of Mr. *Milton*'s againſt *Prelacy*, which certainly drew on the moſt *Epiſcopal Inveteracy* againſt him. 'Our Author, ſays Mr. *To-* '*land*†, carries his Reſentments, no doubt,

* *See Concluſion of* Amyntor, *p.* 162.
† *See the* Life *of* Milton, *p.* 47.

'too far, when the following Words could 'drop from his Pen: *There be such in the World, and I among those, who nothing admire the Idol of a Bishoprick; and hold that it wants so much to be a Blessing, as that I deem it the meerest, the falsest, the most unfortunate* Gift *of Fortune; and were the Punishment and Misery of being a Bishop terminated only in the Person, and did not extend to the Affliction of the whole Diocess; if I would wish any thing in the Bitterness of my Soul, to an Enemy, I should wish him the biggest and fattest Bishoprick.* 'If *Milton* 'had been such a Saint as never missed of 'a favourable Answer to his Prayers, I 'question not but at this rate more would 'covet to be his Enemies than his Friends. 'Another Mark of his Good-will to the 'Prelates, is this unpardonable Simile: *A Bishop's-Foot* (says he) *that has all its Toes, maugre the* Gout, *and a Linen Sock over it, is the aptest Emblem of the Prelate himself; who, being a Pluralist, may under one Surplice hide Four Benefices, besides the great Metropolitan Toe, which sends a foul Stench to Heaven.* 'And in another Place he calls them, *The Gulphs and Whirlpools of Benefices, but the dry Pits of all sound Doctrine.* I shall draw no Conclusions, let Mr. *Milton* look to this!

The next Inſtance your *Lordſhip* will find of Mr. *Toland*'s Labours for the Good of his Country, was at the latter end of the Year 1699, when he publiſhed Mr. *Harrington*'s Pieces in one Volume in Folio, (under the following Title; The OCEANA of *James Harrington*, and his other Works, ſome whereof are now firſt publiſhed from his own Manuſcripts. The whole collected, methodized, and review'd, with an exact Account of his Life prefixed, by *John Toland*.) This judicious Undertaking he performed in his beloved Retirement at *Canon*, near *Banſted* in *Surrey*, from whence he tells us that the Task he had impoſed on himſelf, was, *to tranſmit to Poſterity the worthy Memory of* JAMES HARRINGTON, *a bright Ornament to uſeful Learning, a hearty Lover of his Native Country, and a generous Benefactor to the whole World; a Perſon who obſcured the falſe Luſtre of our Modern Politicians, and that equalled (if not exceeded) all the antient Legiſlators.*

After having given this juſt Character of Mr. *Harrington*, he as frankly confeſſes the *Public Cenſure* that would fall upon himſelf for *this Undertaking*, that they would *not fail, with open Mouths, to proclaim that this is a ſeditious Attempt againſt the very Being of Monar-*

cby, and designed to introduce *a Republican Form of Government*: after this, as he very well remarks, 'Tis strange that 'Men should be cheated by meer Names! 'yet how frequently are they seen to ad- 'mire under one Denomination, what, 'going under another, they would un- 'doubtedly detest! Which Observation 'made TACITUS lay down for a Maxim, 'That *the Secret of setting up a New 'State, consists in retaining the Image 'of the Old.*——What I have performed in 'the History of his Life, I leave the Rea- 'ders to judge for themselves; but in that 'and all other Studies, *says he*, I constantly 'aimed as much, at least, at the Benefit of 'Mankind, as at my own particular Re- 'putation. As for myself, no Employment 'or Condition of Life, shall make me dis- 'relish the lasting Entertainment which 'Books afford'*.——He then concludes the Life of Mr. *Harrington*, with these most excellent Observations, *viz.*

1. That all the Attempts which have been used for introducing Arbitrary Power, have proved as unfortunate as the Tyranny of *Oliver Cromwell*; whereby it appears, at least, that the Character which TACITUS gave the *Romans* of his Time, may as well agree to the People of

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* *See the Preface to Mr.* Harrington's *Works.*

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England; and it is, that *They are able to bear neither Abſolute Liberty, nor Abſolute Slavery.*

2. As to the Whole of this Hiſtory, tho it be managed with due Moderation, and contains nothing but bare Matters of Fact, or ſuch Obſervations as they naturally ſuggeſt; yet I was ſenſible before I wrote it, that I could not eſcape the Diſpleaſure of three ſorts of Perſons: ſuch as have reſolved to be angry at whatever I do; ſuch as neither rightly underſtand what is written by me, nor any body elſe; and thoſe who, without any particular Spite againſt an Author, yet to get a Penny, will pretend to anſwer any Book that makes a conſiderable Figure. But as I am far from thinking myſelf exempt from all the Indiſcretions of Youth, or the Frailties of Human Nature; ſo I am not conſcious of entertaining higher Thoughts of my own Performances than are becoming, or meaner of other Men's than they deſerve.

3. I know that to enterprize any thing out of the common Road, is to undergo undoubted Envy or Peril; and that he, who is not before-hand reſolved to bear Oppoſition, will never do any great or beneficial Exploit: yet it is no ſmall Encouragement to me, that from the beginning of the World, to this Time, not a ſingle Inſtance can be produced, of one who either

ther was, or would be eminent, but he met with Enemies to his Perſon and Fame.

Mr. *Toland* cloſes theſe Remarks, *my Lord*, with a Declaration of the Injury he ſuffered by *a moſt ſcandalous and unchriſtian Calumny* at this Time raiſed againſt him, and *to diſabuſe ſeveral People who* (*as I am told*) ſays he, *are made to believe that in the* HISTORY *of* SOCRATES, *I draw a Parallel between that Philoſopher and* JESUS CHRIST.—*That I have been ſome time about it, I freely avow; yet not in the manner thoſe officious Informers report, but as becomes a diſintereſted Hiſtorian, and a Friend to all Mankind, as will more fully appear to the World whenever the Book itſelf is publiſhed.* All theſe Difficulties did he encounter before he had reached the *thirtieth Year of his Age*; and as he has hitherto appeared to us only a *Biographer*, and a *Philologiſt*, the next Light we are to view him in, is that of a *Politician.*

I am therefore to acquaint your Lordſhip, that in the Year 1700, he wrote a Book intitled, ANGLIA LIBERA, or, the *Limitation* and *Succeſſion* of the CROWN of ENGLAND *explained* and *aſſerted*, &c. This Piece was dedicated to the moſt noble *John* Duke of *Newcaſtle*; and in his *Epiſtle Dedicatory*, he acquaints us that

it

it was *written, first, to convince our own People of their future Safety against* Popery *and* Arbitrary Power; *and that King* WILLIAM *not only made us a* freer Nation *than he found us, but also raised our* LIBERTY *to a Degree scarce to be exceeded by all his* Successors. *Secondly, to shew all Persons both at Home and Abroad, that the Proceedings of the* Parliament *on this Occasion, were agreeable to the Principles of Justice, and the Ends of all good Government, as well as according to the constant Practice of this Kingdom. And thirdly, to acquaint the House of* HANOVER *with the true Nature of their Title, and the Frame of that Government to which they were to succeed*; what Confidence *our People reposed in their Virtues from King* WILLIAM'S *Recommendation*; *how alive they may command the Love of their Subjects, and when dead enjoy the Veneration of all Posterity.* He begins the Work itself with laying down, 1*st*, *The true Principles of Civil Society.* 2*dly*, Gives us, *An Idea of Arbitrary Power.* 3*dly*, shows, *The Genius of Free Governments.* And 4thly, Thus beautifully describes *The Liberty and Government of* England.— "Of the 'Free Governments at this Time, and for 'some Hundreds of Years past, this of '*England* is one of the most considerable.

'Its

'Its Populouſneſs, Commerce, Wealth,
'Politeneſs, Power, and Reputation, is
'wholly owing to *Liberty*. For the Soil
'and Situation of ſome other Countries
'are indiſputably preferable, and *England*
'ſtood in the ſame Place when JULIUS
'CÆSAR diſcovered it, poſſeſt by a naked
'and ſavage People, with painted Skins, a
'Community of Wives, having only Boggs
'and Woody Faſtneſſes for Cities and For-
'tifications, and without any better offen-
'ſive or defenſive Weapons than moſt of
'the wildeſt *Americans*. But our *Liberty*,
'ſince the firſt Foundation of it, has not
'continued always in the ſame Condition.
'Great and various have been the At-
'tempts to ruin it; and nevertheleſs, it
'has not only ſubſiſted, while moſt Coun-
'tries of *Europe* are over-whelmed with
'a Deluge of *Tyranny*; but of late Years
'it has prodigiouſly increaſed, and ſeems
'at preſent to be arrived at a Height
'which wants very little of Perfection.
'Our Hiſtories are full of the Conteſts be-
'tween the King, the Clergy, the Nobi-
'lity and Commons, about their ſeveral
'Powers and Privileges, with their mani-
'fold and dubious Succeſſes. But at length,
'by an inſenſible Progreſs in part, and
'partly from Cauſes viſible to every Eye,
'the Over-ballance of *Property* (and conſe-
'quently of *Power*) fell into the Scale of

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'the Commons, where it seems to be now 'wholly fixed, and according to which the 'Government is in a manner new model-'led (yet by unobserved Degrees) tho the 'antient Names and Customs generally 'continue the same.' He then goes on to show what upon a former Occasion he advanced, that all the Attempts of *our Kings to grasp at an Arbitrary and Unlimited Power, as the only Means to keep their People in Subjection, and to secure their own Authority, was a fatal and mistaken Policy, as appeared by the Event.* 'I shall not mention, *says he,* 'what Progress was made by the Kings 'of the *Scottish* Race in this impious and 'accursed Design, nor the treacherous 'Assistance they received from several 'Orders of Men amongst us, who de-'pended on their *Liberality* or *Power*; 'neither will I revive the odious Me-'mory of those monstrous, absurd, and 'abominable Doctrines which were then 'coined, publickly spread with the grea-'test Absurdity, and under the most aw-'ful Impressions, to infect the Under-'standings of the People, and to make 'them eternal Slaves by their own Con-'currence as well as Consent.' He adds, That he will *not insist on these or the like Miscarriages,* but *discourse* on *the Happiness of our Condition* at that Time;

which he does, by ſhewing the great *Miſeries* we eſcaped in bringing about the late *Glorious Revolution*; aſſuring all the Lovers of their Country, 'That no King 'can ever be ſo good as one of their own 'making; as there is no Title equal to 'their Approbation, which, *ſays he*, is 'the only *Divine Right* of all *Magiſtracy*, for *the* VOICE *of the* PEOPLE, *is* '*the* VOICE *of* GOD*.' The reſt of the Book being taken up chiefly with recounting the *Proceedings in Parliament* upon that *important Occaſion*, and the *Publick Rumours* from thence *ariſing*; I therefore recommend a thorough Peruſal of it to all thoſe who would willingly ſee the *Laws* and *Liberties* of *their Country* ſet in a *juſt Light*.

We muſt now, *my Lord*, regard Mr. *Toland* as a Traveller, for in the Year 1702, we find him at *Berlin*, from whence in a Letter dated *Auguſt* 18. N. S. to a Friend at the *Hague*, he communicates † *Some Remarks on the King of* Pruſſia's *Country, on his Government, his Court, and his numerous Houſes.*

I muſt firſt, *ſays he*, ſatisfy the laſt Queſtion you were pleaſed to propoſe to

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* See *Anglia Libera*, &c. pag. 17.

† See his Account of the Courts of *Pruſſia* and *Hanover*, pag. 2. & ſeq.

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me, why the Inns and Publick Houſes of Entertainment, on the great Roads in *Weſtphalia*, and ſome other Parts of *Germany*, are ſo ill provided with Beds, Proviſions, and moſt things for accommodating Travellers and Strangers? The Reaſon of it is, that the Country is not near ſo well peopled, nor the Ways ſo much frequented by Paſſengers, as in *England* and *Holland*.

Now in theſe Parts of *Germany*, the Country not being peopled a fifth part, there being little or no Trade, and very few Travellers, there is not a proſpect of Gain enough to make the Innkeepers furniſh their Houſes with Beds or Utenſils, nor to lay up any ſtore of good Proviſions, nor ever to dreſs a bit of Meat beforehand; ſo that a Man is very happy if he meets with clean Straw whereon to ſleep, without expecting Sheets or Coverings; and he has no great reaſon to complain, if he gets any thing to eat, tho without the Service of Plates, Forks, or Napkins. He muſt be content to have the Cows, Swine and Poultry for his Fellow-Lodgers, and to go *in* at the ſame Paſſage that the Smoak comes *out*, for there is no other vent for it but the Door; which makes Foreigners commonly ſay, that the People in *Weſtphalia* enter their Houſes by the Chimney. But as to the

badneſs of their Entertainment, I muſt add, that the People of Condition who travel are very uncertain, having Relays of their own; and that thoſe, who go by the Poſt-Waggons, are ſeldom at much Expence. But were there as many People on the Road, or that their Arrival were any thing regular, I make no manner of doubt, but that in proportion they would be as well treated as with us; which really happens in all parts of *Germany*, where the Country is more populous, or more frequented. But whether this mighty want of People, and conſequently of all the Fruits of Induſtry, be owing to the badneſs of the Country, which yet is not the worſt I ever ſaw, for 'tis a much richer Soil and better watered than *Scotland*; or whether it be owing to the arbitrary Adminiſtration of the Governours, who neither have any Concern for the Eaſe and Welfare of their Subjects, nor conſequently any true Knowledge of Traffick, Improvement of Land, or Political Oeconomy: which of theſe, I ſay, or whether any of them be the Cauſe, I will not determine.

Having come to *Berlin* this Year by the way of *Hamburgh*, as the laſt Year from *Hanover*; and having ſeen not only *Halberſtadt*, *Magdenburgh*, and *Brandenburgh*

denburgh on the one Side, but likewiſe ſeveral ſmaller Cities, Boroughs, and numberleſs Villages on the one and the other Side; I preſently took notice, that (beſides the Ways) all the Churches, as well of the Country as of the Towns, were kept in ſo good a repair as I never ſaw the like, being moſt of them newly whitened, or adorned in ſome other manner; the Church-yards being incloſed with durable Walls of Stone or Brick, the Gates generally large, and many new Steeples raiſed, not inferiour to the *old ones*: but whether in being lately built from the Ground, or in being repaired and beautified, I could not remark one Church that was defective in any thing. You may perceive, by this Inſtance, how great a regard the King of *Pruſſia* has to the Beauty of Publick Buildings, no leſs than for the Conveniencies of Publick Worſhip.

Excepting the Places about the Capital City of *Berlin* (which is ſituated in a very Sandy Territory, and too much covered with Woods) the Country is at leaſt twice as well Peopled, and in many Parts a great deal more than *Weſtphalia*. The City of *Berlin*, which is indifferently ſpacious, but extremely fine, is divided into two principal Parts; whereof the firſt, which is the Old Town, is again ſubdi-

vided

vided into three Wards, namely, *Berlin*, *Colen* and the *Werder*. The New Town, which is likewiſe begun to be fortified, is one part of it called *Frederickſtadt*, and the other part *Dorothéeſtadt*, from the Names of the late Elector and Electreſs; ſo that the whole City conſiſts of five Wards, not to mention the Suburbs. The Streets are very large and noble, and planted in moſt parts of the Town with Rows of Trees. There are fine Canals that croſs and ſeparate the ſeveral Wards, with Draw-Bridges after the Model of thoſe in *Holland*. The New Houſes are moſtly built after the beſt Taſte of Architecture; the few Old Houſes that remain, being in *no* reſpect *to be compared with them*.

There are in this City, many things worthy the Curioſity of Strangers. In the Palace is a Library, the Books well choſen and numerous; yet it wants much of being equal to the Library at *Wolfembuttle*. Near to the Royal Library is a Cabinet of Rarities, containing many wonderful Effects of Nature and Art, ſuch as are not eaſily ſeen in other Courts; to which muſt be joined his Majeſty's curious Collection of Medals, of which the Particulars may be found in Monſieur *Berger*'s *Theſaurus Brandeburgicus*. The Moderns have produced nothing that

exceeds

exceeds the Equeſtrian Statue, which, by order of the King, is elevated to the Honour of his Illuſtrious Father, on the fine Bridge of ſquare Stone, which his Majeſty has cauſed to be built over a Branch of the *Spré*. The Man and the Horſe are one entire Piece, which was caſt at once; it weighs Three Thouſand Quintals of Metal, and coſt Forty Thouſand Crowns. The Pedeſtrian Statue for his Majeſty reſembles him very much, erected in the *Area* of the *Arſenal*, in the Quarter called the *Werder*. It is a maſſy ſquare Building, where Architecture and Expence, where Convenience and Ornament have not been dealt by a ſcanty Hand, and it is ſtored with very fair Pieces of Artillery, and other Arms, which are kept in good Order.

Near to the *Arſenal* is a *Sluice*, formerly of Timber, but now wholly of wrought Stone, and accompanied with a large wet *Dock*, which may well be called the Port of *Berlin*, by reaſon of the great Number of Veſſels that are ſeen conſtantly there, either going up or coming down, without reckoning the Boats of the City; for this River is joined by an artificial Canal to the *Oder*, ſo that there is a free Navigation for ſmall Craft, from *Sileſia* a-croſs all *Germany*, till the *Spre* empties

empties itſelf into the *Havel*; and till this laſt flows at *Havelberg* into the *Elbe*, whereby it communicates itſelf with the Ocean.

All the Dominions of his *Pruſſian* Majeſty, as well Inland as Maritime, are excellently watered with Navigable Rivers, as the *Rhine*, the *Maeſe*, the *Weſer*, the *Elbe*, the *Hagel*, the *Havel*, the *Werter*, the *Oder*, the *Viſtula*, the *Pregel*, and ſeveral others. Beſides that his Kingdom of *Pruſſia*, and his Dutchy of *Pomerania*, take up a great part of the Coaſt of the *Baltick Sea*, and lie extremely convenient for Traffick, as they drive a pretty conſiderable one, which by right Management might be vaſtly improved.

But to return to *Berlin*; there is near the Wall of the Town a ſtately Amphitheatre, for the fighting and baiting of *Bears*, *Lions*, *Bulls*, *Urochſen*, which are the *Uri* of the Ancients, and of other wild and fierce Beaſts, of which a good Number is always kept underneath in Dens. The Stables in the New Town may be properly called magnificent; they are divided into two Courts, and nine Pavillions, in equal Diſtances. Overhead is the Academy of the Painters, of the Learned, and of all the genteel Arts which are much encouraged here; and there is likewiſe raiſed a conſpicuous Obſer-

Obſervatory for Aſtronomers. Now of all the Curioſities of *Berlin*, the Principal, is the New *Royal Palace*; no Building can be more exact, commodious, or ſtately: ſome other Palaces of *Europe* may be more capacious, but then they are leſs regular. The Citizens, in imitation of the Father of their Country, go on with New Buildings every Day in all Quarters of the Town; and the great Number of Houſes which his Majeſty builds in ſeveral Places for his own Uſe, but eſpecially in the Neighbourhood of *Berlin*, will, in a few Years, make it one of the fineſt Cities that can be ſeen.

For a particular Deſcription of the King of *Pruſſia*'s *Houſes*, the Characters of that *Royal Family*, the Magnificence of his *Court* at *Berlin*, and the *Regulation* of his *Militia*, I muſt refer to the Work above cited *.

Mr. *Toland* concludes his *firſt* Letter, with the following Account of a Treatiſe publiſhed by him, during King *William*'s Life, intitled, *The Militia Reformed*, &c. ſhewing how all our *Country*, and eſpecially our *Gariſons*, would not only be ſecure during the abſence of our *Re-*

* An Account of the Court of *Pruſſia*, from pag. 26. to pag. 39.

gular Troops, but that, in caſe of need, we might recruit, or reinforce *them* by ſome of *theſe*: "Whereas ſuch Princes "(*ſays he*) as have but their ordinary "Troops, are in danger of being ruined "by the loſs of one Battle, not being "in a Condition for a long time to bring "ſuch another Army into the Field; "while thoſe who exerciſe their *Militia* "have perpetual Reſources of able Men, "who already underſtand the *Theory*, "and will quickly learn the *Practice*; "as I have proved by the Examples of "the ancient *Greeks* and *Romans*."

Fom *Berlin*, *Sept.* 23. N. S. 1702. he communicates to the ſame Friend, in a *ſecond* Letter, the following Account of *Hanover*. He firſt acquaints him, that in his way from *Holland* to *Hanover*, the Year before, there occurred nothing remarkable; but that between the City of *Berlin* and *Hanover*, he was much affected with beholding the Ruins of that once Imperial, populous, large and free City *Brunſwick*; and very pathetically laments the Cauſes of its Decay.

He tells us,* *Hanover* is ſituated in a ſandy Soil, upon the River *Lainé*, which is navigable only by ſmall Boats. It is

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* See, An Account of the Court of *Hanover*, from p. 52. to p. 78.

regularly

regularly fortified, and divided into the New and Old Towns; the Apartments of the Palace are very fine, and richly furniſhed. It was in old Time a large Monaſtery, but ſo well Metamorphoſed ſince, that no Footſteps remain of the Original. There is a pretty Theatre with handſom *Boxes*, for all Qualities; for no body pays Money that goes to a Play there, the Prince being at all the Expence to entertain the Town as well as the Court. But the Opera-Houſe in the Caſtle is viſited as a Rarity by all Travellers, as being the beſt painted, and the beſt contrived in all *Europe*. The Elector's Chapel is alſo finely painted, and certainly nothing can be in greater Order and Method than whatever belongs to his Highneſs. The Court in general is extremely Polite, and even in *Germany* it is accounted the beſt, both for Civility and Decorum. The Vice of Drinking (for which that Nation is ſo much branded) is ſo far from reigning here, that tho' no body is abridged of his Pleaſure in this Reſpect, yet I never knew greater Sobriety, nor a more exact Government in a private Family.——The Clergy ſeldom appear at Court either at *Hanover*, or *Berlin*: The Ornaments of the Altar in the Electoral Chapel are very fine, and all the Work of the late Princeſs *Sophia*.

Hernhauſen is a Country Houſe about an *Engliſh* Mile and a half from *Hanover*. The Garden is indeed delicate, the Water-Works great and noble, the Baſons and Fountains extremely large, the Wilderneſs curiouſly contrived, and decked with a perpetual Verdure; the Walks are made firm with a ſort of Gravel they get out of the River; the Orangery is counted one of the largeſt in all *Europe*; there are beautiful Caſcades, and there is a perfect Theatre excellently cut out into green Seats, the Dreſſing-Rooms for the Actors being ſo many Bowers and Summer-Houſes on each ſide, the whole ſet off with many fine Statues, moſt of them gilt, and an excellent Water-Work juſt behind. In fine, If the ancient *Romans* could return again to the World, they would be amazed to find Barbariſm overſpread all their beloved *Italy*, while the Arts and Sciences flouriſh in the midſt of *Germany*, which in their time was little elſe but immenſe Foreſts and Marſhes, the Receptacles of a ſavage and unpoliſhed People, tho' warlike, brave and free. Mr. *Toland* concludes with obſerving to his Friend the groſſneſs of a Calumny, at that Time ſet on foot by his Adverſaries in *England*, *that he had been Baniſhed from the Courts of* Pruſſia *and* Hanover; and that as to this latter *Court*, as well as of

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the *Royal Family*, in ſtrict Juſtice he could give no other Account than he had done.

To the Account of the Courts of *Pruſſia* and *Hanover*, is ſubjoined the *Ordinances*, *Statutes*, and *Privileges* of the *Royal Academy*, erected by his Majeſty the late King of *Pruſſia*, in his Capital City of *Berlin*. From which FOUNDATION, *ſays Mr.* Toland, "What a happy "Opportunity is there given of reſtoring "Learning to itſelf, ſtript from all the "Diſguiſes of Pedantry, Jargon, and "Chimeras, and freed from the ſervile "Fetters of Syſtems, common Places, "childiſh Ceremonies, and ridiculous "Habits! The Prince of Orators, the "freeſt Philoſopher, the moſt accompliſh-"ed Gentleman, and the Supreme Ma-"giſtrate of the greateſt Empire that ever "exiſted; in one word, *Cicero* will "herein be my Example and Voucher, "who is not aſhamed to own, that the "Inſtruction of the *Roman* Youth was "the main End of thoſe immortal Wri-"tings he has left behind him." * *For*

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* Quod enim munus Reipublicæ afferre majus meliuſve poſſumus, quam ſi docemus atque erudimus Juventutem? his præſertim moribus atque temporibus, quibus ita prolapſa eſt, ut omnium opibus refrænanda ac coercenda ſit, &c. *De Divinatione*, &c. l. xi. c. 2.

what

what greater or better Gift, says he, *can we confer on the Commonwealth, than if we teach and instruct the Youth? Especially considering the present Manners and Times, wherein they are so corrupted, that all should join their Endeavours to restrain and reform them*, &c. "His *Prussian* Majesty has the "Happiness to contrive, and likewise to "perform, what the *Roman* Consul could "only wish, or imperfectly endeavour, in "that corrupt and declining State of his "Country, when the Persons and Autho-"rity of good Men were exposed to "Contempt and Danger; and that it was "the Interest of prevailing Wickedness, "to make all Men whatsoever as bad as "the very worst of the most perfidious, "debauched, and ambitious Citizens; "those detestable Betrayers of their Ho-"nour and Liberty, who, by a prodigi-"ous Reverse of Nature, did vilely become "the Slaves of their Servants, and the "Equals of their Slaves."

These Institutions of the King of *Prussia*'s Royal Academy, are well worthy the Perusal of the Curious; and as Mr. *Toland* sent them, by way of Present, to a *particular Friend* in the Country, I shall close this Head with the agreeable Description he gives in his Letter (prefixed to them) of a *Rural Retirement*.

"Those

" Thoſe various Pleaſures (ſays he, the
" Country yields, muſt certainly be the
" moſt ſolid, becauſe they are the moſt
" innocent and ſafe. There, all Buſineſs
" is Recreation, as all Diverſion is Profi-
" table: and as it was ever accounted the
" fitteſt Scene for Retirement, Reading,
" and Contemplation; ſo it is the only
" Place where we can have a true Reliſh
" of Select Company.——O happy Times
" of ancient *Rome!* when her Conſuls
" were taken from the Pruning-Hook,
" and her Dictators from the Plough;
" when the moſt delicious Fare of her
" greateſt Senators were the unbought
" Dainties of their own Grounds, the
" welcome Rewards of their Induſtry or
" Care: and when her conquering Ge-
" nerals, inſtead of growing rich by the
" War abroad, or plundering the publick
" Stock at home, were ſollicitous to be
" recalled (like *Attilius Regulus*) to cul-
" tivate their moderate Farms for the
" Support of themſelves and their Fa-
" milies."

The chief Motive I had, *my Lord*, for inſerting this Paſſage, was to let the Publick into Mr. *Toland*'s true Taſte, who was ſo far from aiming at the Man of Buſtle, that in many places of his Writings he has frankly declared, That,

for

for *this ſort of Life he ever had a ſtrong* Inclination.

The next Piece in the ſame Volume, your Lordſhip will find to be the *Declaration* of the Elector *Palatine* * in favour of his *Proteſtant Subjects*. Mr. *Toland*, in his Introduction, informs us, that many worthy *Patriots* were truly concerned, that the Glory of ſuch a Prince ſhould be tarniſhed in any degree, with the invidious Character of being a *Perſecutor*; "and I confeſs (*ſays he*) that this "Conſideration did ſway with me above "all other Motives, to examine the Cir-"cumſtances of this Affair." He firſt recites *Three very ſignal Services* the *Elector* rendered at different Times to the *Common Cauſe* of *Europe*. The firſt of theſe was raiſing the Siege of *Rhynfeltz* in the Year 1695. The next was in the beginning of the late War, by his ſo timely ſeizing on the Boats of the Bridge, and other Materials, which the Enemy intended to lay over the *Rhine* at *Keyſerſwerdt*, for the Paſſage of their Army under the Duke of *Burgundy* and the Mareſchal *de Boufflers*, who had reſolved to march ſtrait forward to *Utrecht*, and ſo to force the States to

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* *John William*, Count *Palatine* of the *Rhine*, Elector of the *Holy Empire*, Duke of *Bavaria*, &c.

accept

accept of a Peace; which had disconcerted all the Measures of the *Allies*, and laid *Europe* before this Time in Chains. The last is, that when the *Dutch* Troops were seized and made Prisoners of War in the great Towns of *Flanders* and *Brabant*, the Elector marched his Troops out of his own Territories, which were exposed to the Enemies Fury, into the most important Frontier of *Maestricht*, then without a sufficient Garrison: A Benefit the States will never forget.

The Publication of an entire Liberty of Conscience, was the first Step that the Elector made to ease and satisfy his Subjects; and to demonstrate his readiness to accept all reasonable Conditions, came to a Resolution of having this Affair adjusted at his own Court by his proper *Ministers*, and by those who were deputed for that end by his Majesty the King of *Prussia*, to avoid the usual dilatory Proceedings of the *Diet*, which gave small hopes of any speedy Accommodation. His *Electoral Highness* was not deceived in his Judgment herein; and perceiving what Progress was made in this *Treaty* in so little a time, principally by his own personal Care and Application, he did by his *Ministers* both at *London* and the *Hague*,

invite Queen *Anne* and the *States-General*, to ſend thither the (late) Earl *Stanhope*, and *Mynheer van Ghent*, that it might be brought to a Concluſion with the greateſt Honour and Solemnity poſſible: but theſe Miniſters were eaſed of that trouble, by the ſucceeding of the Accommodation ſooner than was expected, on *Nov.* 21. 1705.

This, my Lord, is a ſuccinct Hiſtory of the Matter of Fact, as punctually as I could extract it from his Obſervations. It muſt be owned, that the *Proteſtants* in general are under a moſt ſenſible Obligation to his *Electoral Highneſs*, who came to an Agreement ſo advantageous to the Proteſtant Religion, as will demonſtrably be proved by the Declaration it ſelf. And I dare ſay your Lordſhip will allow, that the Elector has experienced the good Effects of this equitable Proceeding, both in the peopling of his Countries, which of conſequence makes him Rich and Powerful, and in the Affection of his Subjects, whoſe Obedience is not half ſo well ſecured by any Set of *Notions* or *Doctrines* (be they what they will) as by *wholeſome Laws*, and an *impartial Adminiſtration*.

Your Lordſhip will find an Account of many uſeful *Political Sentiments*, in a Treatiſe written by Mr. *Toland*, intitled,

The

The Art of Governing by Parties. This Piece is Dedicated to King *William*; and he assures his Majesty, 'That the chief 'Aim of the Author was to do the most 'acceptable Service to his Country at 'that critical Juncture, (*Anno* 1701.)' In the Work itself is considered, First, The great Influence of *Party-Concerts* in *Religion*; under which Article he very judiciously enforces an Observation made by the Duke of *Buckingham*, in a Speech to the House of Lords, * *viz.* 'It is cer-'tainly, *says that Noble Peer*, a very 'uneasy kind of Life to any Man, that 'has either Christian-Charity, Good-'Nature or Humanity, to see his Fel-'low-Subjects daily abused, divested of 'their Liberties and Birth-Rights, and 'miserably thrown out of their Possessi-'ons and Freeholds, only because they 'cannot agree with some others in Opini-'ons and Niceties of Religion, to which 'their Consciences will not give them 'leave to assent, and which, even by the 'Consent of those who would impose 'them, are no way necessary to Salva-'tion.' From a just pursuit of this Argument, he proceeds, Secondly, To the Trick of dividing the Laity in their

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* See, *The Art of Governing by Parties*, pag. 16.

Politicks. 'It will be thought ſtrange, 'ſays he, that in our admirable Conſti-'tution, any Perſons ſhould be found 'endeavouring to ſtrip themſelves of 'their Liberty, and to leave all their 'Poſterity enſlaved; yet Experience will 'not let us doubt that there is any thing 'ſo abſurd, into which ſome may not be 'cheated or corrupted *. He concludes with this Remark, That whenever our Nation *was divided in their Politicks, the different Parties have been played off one againſt another, the better to ſubdue or deſtroy them* †. Thirdly, The *Parliament* next falls under his Conſideration; in which Auguſt Aſſembly, he avers it is a known Maxim, *That we can never be deſtroyed but by their Counſels.* 'Such Princes therefore as 'aimed at Deſpotick Power, left no 'Stone unturned to get a Parliament to 'their Mind, knowing this to be the 'certain means of pulling down our Con-'ſtitution at once: for the People have 'ſuch a Veneration for the Sanctions of 'their Parliaments, and are ſo ſenſible 'of the Protection they have always re-'ceived from them, that they think it 'almoſt impoſſible they ſhould miſtake

* Ibid. pag. 34.
† Ibid. pag. 55.

'their

'their true Intereſt, much leſs be guilty 'of ſuch Ingratitude and Treachery, as 'to join in any baſe Deſigns againſt thoſe 'who honoured them with being their 'Repreſentatives.' Tho King *Charles* the *Second*, had very nigh accompliſhed by *Parties*, *Places* and *Penſions*, what all the Sleight or Force of his Predeceſſors could never compaſs *. Fourthly, As for the *Bench*, 'You may learn, *ſays he*, 'the *Equity* of the *Royal Brothers*, '(King *Charles* II. and King *James* II.) 'from the *Decrees* of their *Chancellors*, 'who were the Keepers of their Con-'ſcience. They culled out for their Pur-'poſe the moſt ſtupid, immoral and illi-'terate they could rake out of the Inns 'of Court, and moſt of them were a 'Scandal to their Profeſſion. The few 'honeſt Gentlemen they promoted at any 'time, to gain ſome Countenance to the 'reſt, could do nothing to their Minds; 'and, if likely to live, were ſoon laid 'aſide, as were all thoſe who in any Caſe 'ſhowed the leaſt reſpect for the Laws, 'tho in other Matters they had gone ever 'ſo far. Thus was Juſtice made a meer 'Property, to be bought and ſold, and 'all Judgments given according to Di-

* Ibid. pag. 57.

'rections

'rections from Court. They were rather '*Parties* on the Bench than indifferent 'Judges, threatning, and ſcurrilouſly a- 'buſing the Priſoners brought before them, 'or ſuch as appeared on their Behalf. 'They ſpared no Man's Blood which the 'King or his Miniſters had a mind to 'ſpill, or made any Bones of giving Judg- 'ment againſt all the Charters of the King- 'dom *.' Fifthly, He very freely declares, that the Spring, Management and Refuge of all *Party-making* and Factions, centers in the Miniſters of State. Then ſhows the ill Effects of *Parties* on the People in general, the King in particular, and on all our Foreign Affairs. Proving in the End, That the only *Remedy* againſt all the *Miſchief* of *Parties*, is a *Parliament equally conſtituted*.

In the Year 1707, your *Lordſhip* will find publiſhed by Mr. *Toland*, a pretty large Treatiſe, in *Engliſh* and *Latin*, intitled, A *Philippick Oration* to incite the *Engliſh* againſt the *French*; but eſpecially to prevent the treating of a *Peace* with *them* too ſoon after *they* are *beaten*, &c. In a *Preliminary Diſſertation* † to this *Piece*, he informs us,

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* Ibid. pag. 83. & ſeq.

† Ibid. pag. 2, 6, 9, 10, 25, 26, 27, 28, 33, 34, 35, 40, & ſeq.

First,

First, *That* it is *a Magnificent Encomium upon the* Engliſh *Nation and Government, that the Writer of it was a Foreigner:* And the better to underſtand the *occaſion* of *Writing it*, we muſt know (*ſays he*) that in the Year of *Chriſt*, 1508, *Maximilian* Emperor of *Germany*, *Ferdinand* King of *Arragon*, and Adminiſtrator of *Caſtile*, *Lewis* the XIIth King of *France*, and *Julius* the IId, Pope of *Rome*, made a League againſt the *Venetians* by their Agents at *Cambray:* and that the *Venetians*, the following Year, loſing the fatal Battle of *Ghiaradadda*, loſt alſo their whole Territories on the Continent, which were ſeized and ſhared by theſe ſeveral Potentates. Some fatal Differences which aroſe between theſe *Princes*, continued from the Year 1509, to 1514, when at length a *Peace* was concluded between them. After which, when it was found in good earneſt, by *Maximilian* and *Ferdinand*, that our King *Henry* VIII. hearkened to the Agents and Emiſſaries of *France*, to which he was not a little diſpoſed by the Wants or Inconſtancy of the former, and the repeated Treacheries of the latter, they ſet all Engines at work to traverſe the Negotiation. It was at that time, and for this very purpoſe, that the *Oration* was compoſed; it is addreſſed to the

Privy

Privy-Council, but the *Peace* having been ſuddenly concluded, it could not afterwards be ſafely publiſhed, by reaſon it is provided in the very *Treaty*, that no Writing ſhall be ſuffered to come abroad reflecting on either Nation, their Princes, or Confederates.

It is to be obſerv'd, *my Lord*, that tho Mr. *Toland* publiſhed this *Speech* as the Work of an uncertain Author, yet *he declares* that *he ſhould ſooner ſuſpect* Matthew Schiner, *Biſhop and Cardinal of* Sion, *than any other*, he being ſtiled by *Jovius*, *a Man of a terrible Genius, and extraordinary Eloquence*; and *Mezeray* owns, that *He moved the* Switzers, *as the Wind does the Leaves of Trees*. *Jovius* in his *Elogies* ſays, *That he himſelf had heard* Francis *the Firſt affirm*, 'That the invincible 'Force of the Cardinal of *Sion*'s Elo-'quence coſt him more Treaſure, and 'occaſioned him more Fear, than the 'pointed Spears of ſo many Legions from 'the ſame Nation:' *A glorious Teſtimony generouſly rendered to his wonderful Abi-lity, from ſo learned and martial a Prince!* Now therefore (*ſays Mr.* Toland) conſidering his Antipathy to the *French*, his Affection for the Cauſe of the Emperor, his Power with the *Switzers*, his Intercourſe with *England*, and eſpecially conſidering his Polite Learning and Incomparable

comparable Eloquence, I confeſs I cannot help perſuading myſelf that this *Oration* was of his Writing. It better agrees with his Character and Deſigns, than with *any other* then living. But I ſhall detain your Lordſhip no longer from the Pleaſure of peruſing the *Oration* itſelf, than only to lay before you a Tranſcript of the very remarkable and juſt Account of the Poſture of our Affairs in *Europe* from its Dedication; *viz. To Queen* Anne, *the Pious, the Fortunate, the Triumphant, by whoſe Councils, Arms, and Treaſure* (*bravely aſſiſted by the* Dutch) *the* French, *with their* Allies, *are Vanquiſhed, the Dignity of the* Auſtrian-*Family in* Germany, *and their Title in* Spain *aſſerted,* Italy *and* Flanders *reſtored to Liberty, and the* Britons *crowned with Immortal Glory: This* Oration, *formerly deſigned againſt the* French, *but now at laſt moſt Seaſonably employed,* (*being an exact Pattern, and a juſt Encomium of her Glorious Adminiſtration*) *is moſt humbly and dutifully conſecrated, by* John Toland.

We muſt now, *my Lord*, change this Scene of *Eloquence*, to take a View of the *Theological Writings* of Mr. *Toland*. I ſhall begin firſt with that Piece which ſet the whole Body of the *Clergy*, and the ignorant part of the *Laity* in Battle-

Array againſt him. This, your Lordſhip will eaſily perceive to be the *Treatiſe* intitled—*Chriſtianity not Myſterious*: Shewing, *That there is nothing in the Goſpel contrary to Reaſon, nor above it: And that no Chriſtian Doctrine can be properly called a Myſtery.* In the Preface to this Piece *, Mr. *Toland* declares the Deſign of it to be no other, than *to rectify the narrow bigotted Tenets of* Some, *and the moſt impious Maxims of* Others. *He thus proceeds*, 'That the 'miſtaken Unbeliever may not ſay I 'ſerve a Hypotheſis in the Defence of 'my Faith, like ſome who firſt imagine 'or receive an Opinion, and then ſtudy 'Proofs to eſtabliſh it; I ſolemnly declare 'the thing is much otherwiſe, and that 'I hold nothing as an Article of my Re-'ligion, but what the higheſt Evidence 'forced me to Embrace. For being edu-'cated from my Cradle †, in the groſſeſt 'Superſtition and Idolatry, God was 'pleaſed to make my own Reaſon, and 'ſuch as made uſe of Theirs, the happy 'Inſtruments of my Converſion.——Now 'the *beſt Method*, I think, *of communi-'cating to others the Truth*, is *that* by

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* Pag. 7.

† Mr. *Toland* was born at *London-Derry*, where, tho' near two thirds of the Inhabitants are *Presbyterians*, yet he was bred a *Papiſt*.

'which

'which a Man has *learnt it himself* ||.' And he very frankly concludes his Preface in these Words; 'I have no Appre-'henſion (*ſays he*) from the Sincere; 'and if the Deſigning Party diſcover 'their Concern by their Diſpleaſure, it 'may well ſerve for a Mark to diſtin-'guiſh them, but will not be thought 'an Injury by me.' Having thus repreſented to your *Lordſhip* the Deſign of this *Work* in the Words of the *Author*, I ſhall in the next Place produce the Sentiments of two very eminent Men concerning the *Author*, and the Uſage he met with for the *Work* itſelf.

This Piece made a great Noiſe in the *Republick of Letters*, and was attacked by ſeveral very conſiderable Pens*. For in that *agreeable Correſpondence* between Mr. *Molyneux* and Mr. *Locke*, the former of theſe Gentlemen writes thus; †'I am 'told the Author of *Chriſtianity not* '*Myſterious*, is of this Country, and 'that his Name is *Toland*, but he is a 'Stranger in theſe parts; I believe if he 'belongs to this Kingdom, he has been a 'good while out of it, for I have not

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|| *Preface*, pag. 8, 9.

* Biſhop *Stillingfleet*, Dr. *Peter Browne*, Biſhop of *Cork*, &c.

† See, *Some Familiar Letters between Mr.* Locke, *and ſeveral of his Friends*, 8vo. pag. 188, to pag. 237.

'heard of any such *remarkable Man* 'amongst us.' And in his very next Letter to Mr. *Locke*, he thus farther proceeds, —'Honoured Sir, In my last to you, 'there was a Passage relating to the Au-'thor of *Christianity not Mysterious*. I 'did not then think that he was so near 'me, as within the Bounds of this City; 'but I find since, that he is come over hi-'ther, and have had the favour of a Visit 'from him. I now understand (as I inti-'mated to you) that he was born in this 'Country, but that he has been a great 'while abroad, and his Education was, 'for some time, under the great *Le Clerc*. 'But that for which I can never honour 'him too much, is his Acquaintance and 'Friendship to you, and the Respect, 'which, on all occasions, he expresses for 'you. I propose a great deal of Satis-'faction in his Conversation; I take him 'to be *a candid Free-Thinker, and a* '*good Scholar*. But there is a violent 'sort of Spirit that reigns here, which 'begins already to shew itself against 'him; and, I believe, will increase daily, 'for I find the Clergy alarmed to a mighty 'degree against him. And last *Sunday* 'he had his Welcome to this City, by 'hearing himself harangued against out 'of the Pulpit, by a Prelate of this Coun-'try.' Mr. *Locke*, in his Answer to

Mr.

Mr. *Molyneux*, thus declares his Eſteem for Mr. *Toland*, (notwithſtanding upon a particular Occaſion there had been a little Coldneſs between them) *For the Man I wiſh very well, and could give you, if it needed, Proofs that I do ſo. And therefore I deſire you to be kind to him; but I muſt leave it to your Prudence, in what way, and how far.—— For it will be his Fault alone, if he prove not a very valuable Man, and have not you for his Friend.* To this Mr. *Molyneux* was pleaſed to reply, *I look upon Mr.* Toland *as a very ingenious Man, and I ſhould be very glad of any Opportunity of doing him Service, to which I think myſelf indiſpenſibly bound by your Recommendation.* And this Gentleman, in another Letter to Mr. *Locke*, ſhortly after, gives the following Account of the vile Treatment Mr. *Toland* met with in *Ireland*. 'He has had (ſays Mr. *Molyneux*) 'his Oppoſers here, as you will find by 'a Book which I have ſent to you. The '*Author* † is my Acquaintance; but two 'Things I ſhall never forgive in his 'Book: the one is the foul Language 'and opprobrious Names he gives Mr. '*Toland*; the other is, upon ſeveral Oc-'caſions, calling in the Aid of the Civil 'Magiſtrate, and delivering Mr. *Toland*

† The preſent Biſhop of *Cork*.

'up

'up to Secular Punishment. This indeed 'is a killing Argument; but some will 'be apt to say, That where the Strength 'of his Reason failed him, there he flies 'to the Strength of the Sword. And this 'minds me of a Business that was very 'surprizing to many, even several Pre-'lates in this Place, the Presentment of 'some pernicious Books, and their Au-'thors, by the Grand-Jury of *Middlesex*. 'This is looked upon as a Matter of dan-'gerous Consequence, to make our Civil 'Courts Judges of Religious Doctrines; 'and no one knows, upon a Change of 'Affairs, whose turn it may be next to 'be condemned. But the Example has 'been followed in our Country; and Mr. '*Toland*, and his Book, have been pre-'sented here by a Grand-Jury, not *one of* '*which*, I am persuaded, ever read *one* '*Leaf* in *Christianity not Mysterious*. 'Let the *Sorbonne* for ever now be Silent; 'a learned Grand-Jury, directed by as 'learned a Judge, does the Business much 'better. The *Dissenters* here were the 'chief Promoters of this Matter; but, when 'I asked one of them, What if a violent '*Church of England Jury* should present 'Mr. *Baxter*'s Books, as pernicious, and 'condemn them to the Flames by the 'common Executioner? He was sensible 'of the Error, and said, *He wished it*

'*had*

'*had never been done.*' Mr. *Locke*, in his Anſwer to Mr. *Molyneux* concerning this Uſage of *Authors*, thus expreſſes himſelf: *I think, with you, the* Diſſenters *were beſt conſider*, That what is Sauce for a Gooſe, is Sauce for a Gander. *But they are a ſort of Men that will always be the ſame.*——— Not long after theſe Proceedings, *my Lord*, Mr. *Molyneux*, in another Letter to Mr. *Locke*, concludes his Account of our Author with the following melancholy Relation——'Mr. '*Toland* is, at length, driven out of our 'Kingdom; the poor Gentleman at laſt 'wanted a Meal's Meat (as I am told) 'and (*the univerſal Outcry of the Clergy* '*run ſo ſtrong againſt him*) none would 'admit him to their Tables. The little 'Stock of Money which he brought into 'this Country being exhauſted, he fell to 'borrowing, and to compleat his Hard-'ſhips, the Parliament fell on his Book, 'voted it to be burnt by the common 'Hangman, and ordered the Author to 'be taken into Cuſtody of the Serjeant at 'Arms, and to be proſecuted by the At-'torney-General at Law. Hereupon he 'is fled out of this Kingdom, and none 'here knows where he has directed his 'Courſe. I did believe you might be a 'great while to come a Stranger to theſe 'Proceedings, unleſs I had intimated

'them

'them to you; and that is one of my 'Designs in Writing this to you.' I have, *my Lord*, been the fuller in these Extracts, for two Reasons: *One* is, that I hope the Character herein given of Mr. *Toland*, will, in some measure, convince the Publick that he was not a Person of such a superficial Knowledge and mean Abilities, as the Clergy would insinuate, *now he is no more*; and the *other* is, because Mr. *Molyneux* concludes his Account of Mr. *Toland*, with doing Justice to the Merit of a Gentleman, to whose real Worth your Lordship is no Stranger.

'I am here (*says Mr.* Molyneux *to Mr.* 'Locke) very happy in the Friendship of 'an honourable Person, Mr. *Molesworth*, 'who is an hearty Admirer and Acquain-'tance of yours. We never meet but we 'remember you; he sometimes comes 'into my House, and tells me, 'tis not to 'pay a Visit to me, but to pay his Devo-'tion to your Image that is in my Di-'ning-Room.' And Mr. *Locke*, my Lord, expresses the due Sense he had of *this Esteem*, in the following Words: 'I 'must beg you to return my Acknow-'ledgments to Mr. *Molesworth*, in the 'civillest Language you can find, for the 'great Compliment you sent me from 'him. I have been not a little 'troubled, that I could not meet with

'the

'the Opportunities I ſought to improve
'the Advantage I propoſed to myſelf, in
'an Acquaintance with ſo ingenious and
'extraordinary a Man as he is *.

Thus, *my Lord*, having ſeen the *very partial* Treatment both Mr. *Toland* and his *Book* met with in *Ireland*; I am next to acquaint your *Lordſhip*, that during his *Retirement* from this *Perſecution*, he offered an *Apology* by way of *Letter*, to a Member of the *Houſe of Commons*, in that Kingdom; written the Day before his Book was reſolved to be burnt by the *Committee of Religion*. This *Apology* he ſubjoined to the *Second Edition* of his *Chriſtianity not Myſterious*. In which *Apology*, after a recital of the Proceedings we have already been acquainted with from the incomparable Pen of Mr. *Molyneux*, it is obſerved that Mr. *Toland* being thus made a *Hereſiarch*, occaſioned every body to hunt for his Book, which was then very ſcarce; and his Enemies alſo took that Pretext of denominating all his Acquaintance *Tolandiſts*, how different ſoever they were from him, or one another in their Sentiments †. But leſt the broaching of ſim-

* See, Mr. *Locke*'s Letters, *ut ſupra*, pag. 260.
† See, An *Apology* for Mr. *Toland*, pag. 7.

ple *Hereſies* ſhould not ſerve the Turn, Mr. *Toland* muſt by all means be made *the Head of a Sect*, and of no ordinary one; for if you credit one of his *Antagoniſts* *, he deſigned to be *as famous an Impoſtor as Mahomet*. To confirm this Character, which was well enough invented to amuſe the People with vain Terrors, there was a ridiculous Story handed about, that in the 14*th* Year of his Age, he gravely declared he would be the *Head of a Sect* e'er he was 30; and before he was 40, he ſhould make as great a Stir in the Commonwealth as *Cromwell* ever did. This Legendary-Report, ſome laboured to fulfil in part, that ſuperſtitious Folks might trepidly apprehend the Event of the reſt. For, ſays Mr. *Brown*, *The real Deſign of this Man is plainly no other, than what he* formerly declared, *and what he openly affects to be, the* Head of a Sect †. The ſucceeding Step to this, was to make Mr. *Toland* a *Jeſuit*; and if ſo, ſays the *Apology*, he's certainly the moſt dangerous of the Order, and began extremely betimes. He was not ſixteen Years old when he perceived, and renounced the

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* Ibid. pag. 10, 11.

† Mr. *Brown*, (now Biſhop of *Cork*.)

Errors of *Popery*; for in 1687, he went from *Redcaſtle* near *London-Derry*, to the College of *Glaſcow* in *Scotland*; and, upon his Departure from it, the Magiſtrates of that City gave him Recommendatory Letters, wherein they took particular Notice of his Affection to the *Proteſtant Religion*. The Day before the memorable Battle of the *Boyne*, he was created *Maſter of Arts* at *Edinburgh*, and received the uſual *Diploma* or Certificate from the *Profeſſors*. After this, he went to the Univerſity of *Leiden* in *Holland*, to perfect his Studies; and upon his return from thence, ſpent ſome Time at *Oxford*, and at length came to *London*, where 'tis well known his Company and Converſation were the fartheſt in the World from being *Jeſuitical*. Notwithſtanding the whole Series of his Education, as well as his own Genius, did thus run in the moſt oppoſite Channel to *Popery*; yet in *Ireland* that malicious Report gained upon ſome few, becauſe he happened to be brought up a *Papiſt* from his Childhood, which was no more an Action of his own, than that he was born there. The laſt Effort, except the Charge of *Socinianiſm*, to blaſt him, was to make him paſs for a rigid *Nonconformiſt*; ſo his Countrymen treated him in this reſpect like his Majeſty's good

Subjects of *Guernsey*, who, when they are in *France*, are called *English Rogues*, and in *England*, *French Dogs*.

Tho Mr. *Toland*, my Lord, did frequently with the utmost Pleasure acknowledge his *Renunciation of Popery*, yet he as freely declared that he never would condescend to court *any Body of Men* farther than he saw Ground for it; and to this Principle he resolv'd to adhere, tho it should hazard the inevitable Ruin of his Fortune or Reputation with all Parties. But so warm were the Zealots who ordered Mr. *Toland*'s Book to be burnt, that one *Sanguin-Christian* averr'd, *the Author ought to be burnt with it*; another said, *He should be made to burn his Book with his own Hand*; and a third desired it should be done before the Door of the House, *that he might have the Pleasure of treading the Ashes under his Feet*. And accordingly, it underwent that Fate.

I forbear making any Remarks, either upon the Design of burning *Books* in general, or *This* in particular; nor will I shew, how fruitless this sort of Proceeding has prov'd in all Ages, since the Custom was first introduced by *Popish-Inquisitors*, who always performed Execution on the *Book* when they could not seize the *Author*, whom they had

had deſtined to the Flames. Neither will I inſiſt upon the great Stop and Diſcouragement which this Practice brings to all Learning and Diſcoveries: but without farther Digreſſion, I ſhall now ſubmit it to your Lordſhip's Conſideration, whether ſuch Treatment can be thought Equitable, which reduces the Mind, as well as the Body, to the moſt abject Slavery.

From the Fury of the *Iriſh* Houſe of Commons, Mr. *Toland* retired to *Holland*, and came from thence to *England* about two Years afterwards; upon his arrival here, (as he informs us in his * *Vindicius Liberius*, &c.) he heard that two † Books of his Compoſition were under the Conſideration of a Committee of Convocation; upon which he ſent the following Letter to the *Prolocutor*, either to give ſuch Satisfaction as ſhould induce them to ſtop their Proceedings, or deſiring to be heard in his own Defence before they paſs'd any Cenſure on his Writings.

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* Pag. 13.

† I. *Chriſtianity not Myſterious.* II. Amyntor, *or a Defence of* Milton's *Life.*

For

For the Reverend Dr. *Hooper*, Dean of *Canterbury*, and *Prolocutor* of the Lower Houſe of *Convocation.*

Reverend Sir,

IN the Poſt, which you ſo deſervedly ſupply, 'tis no wonder if you are often addreſſed by Perſons (as I am) wholly unknown to you, tho Fame has made me no Stranger to your great Learning and Moderation. I have been informed by ſeveral People, that the lower Houſe of Convocation *has ordered a Committee to examine what Books have been lately written or publiſhed againſt the* Chriſtian *Religion and the three* Creeds, *or to this Effect; and that, among many others, two Pieces, whereof I am the Author, are now under their Conſideration. That in thoſe Books there may be ſome ſingular Opinions, and ſuch as are not authorized by the common Approbation, I will not deny: for I had not only the ſame Liberty with all others of writing in a free Country, but might alſo make what new Diſcoveries I was able, towards*

wards the better understanding of Religion, of Law, of History, or any other Faculty. And indeed he trifles extremely with the World, who is not convinced, that, at least, he makes Things clearer than they were; if he explodes no vulgar Errors, detects no dangerous Fallacies, nor adds any stronger Light or Proof to what was generally received before. Those and such like are the real or pretended Motives of all Authors, of Divines *as well as others; and they actually advance new* Notions, Expositions, *and* Hypotheses *in their Books every Day, without being decried for their Innovations, or suspected to undermine* Religion. *'Tis not to be supposed therefore, that the* Convocation *is displeased with me for differing sometimes with others (which I can show the most eminent of their Members to have done) but for writing, as it's given out, against the* Christian *Religion or the Three* Creeds. *The Truth of this Charge I positively deny, or that there is Reason or Colour for it in any of my Books.* Christianity not Mysterious *cannot relate to the Three* Creeds, *since it does not treat particularly of any* Article; *notwithstanding that such as never saw it are made to believe it directly attacks the* Trinity, *and openly*

defends

defends the Socinian *Principles, which the Author has always believed not only to be false, but also wholly groundless and ridiculous. As for the* Christian *Religion in general, that Book is so far from calling it in Question, that it was purposely written for its Service, to defend it against the Imputations of Contradiction and Obscurity, which are frequently objected by its Opposers. There is nothing blame-worthy in this Design, nor ought any Persons to be angry with me for professing that I understand the* Christian *Religion, how* mysterious *soever it may seem to them: and, I am sure, the better any Man comprehends a Thing, the more he has to say for it, and the greater Reasons to believe it. Some Passages in my Book, which were disputed, I have explained in an* Apology *apart: and were my Principle erroneous, or my Performance insufficient, yet my Intentions were Sound and Orthodox. As for* Amyntor, *every body knows how Mr.* Blackall *drew me in to write it, when no such Purpose had ever entered into my Head before. This Book consists of Matters of* Fact, *and some* Observations *on them. The* Facts *are all, or most of them, collected out of the* Fathers *of the* Church, *Men for whom the* Clergy *profess a great Veneration,*

and

and the beſt Editions of their Works have been made or procured by Divines. *What lies diſperſed and ſcattered in thoſe Volumes, is neither better nor worſe, being extracted and laid together in their natural Order. But if the bare quoting of* Facts *be any Fault, I may pretend, I hope, to as good Quarter as Mr.* Dodwell; *not that I wou'd promote any* Cenſure *againſt that worthy Perſon, but that what is not reckoned* amiſs *in* him, *may not be thought* criminal *in* me. *But the* Facts, *I may reaſonably ſuppoſe, are not likely to be made an Objection to any body; and I have even convinced my Adverſaries, that by the* Spurious Pieces, *mentioned in* Milton's Life, *I did not mean any Books of the* New Teſtament. *'Tis confeſſed, I have ſhown ſome Conſequences which have been drawn from the pretended* Sacred Books, *of which I have given a Catalogue in* Amyntor; *but that I approve of them there or any where elſe, does by no means appear. On the contrary, in the* 65th *Page, I affirm, that* it had much more become Mr. *Blackall's* Profeſſion to appear better acquainted with theſe Things, and commendably to ſpend his Time in preventing the miſchievous Inferences which *Hereticks* may draw from hence, or to remove the Scruples of doubting but ſin-

cere *Chriſtians*, than ſo publickly to vent his Malice againſt a Man that never injured him, *&c. And as to ſome Remains of the* Apoſtles, *which the* Fathers *thought unqueſtionably theirs, and whereof I had ſo favourable an Opinion as to offer ſome Arguments to prove them genuine; yet, in the* 58*th Page, I declare, that I* ſhall not be too haſty to make a final Deciſion of this Matter with myſelf, leſt I incur the dreadful Curſe which the Author of the *Revelation* pronounces againſt ſuch as ſhall add or take away from that Book. Let Mr. *Blackall* be aſſured, that, if he muſt needs have me to be a *Heretick*, I am not unteachable; tho I would not have it reputed Obſtinacy, if I ſhould not ſurrender without ſatisfactory Reaſons. Inſtead therefore of *Cenſuring* and *Calumniating* (which ought not to be reckoned Virtues in any Order of Men, and leaſt of all in the Miniſters of the Goſpel) let ſuch as are better inlightened endeavour to extricate the Erroneous out of theſe or the like Difficulties, *&c. This is what I thought neceſſary to ſuggeſt in general concerning thoſe two Pieces of mine, which have been made the Occaſion of ſo much Noiſe. I was but five and twenty Years old when I wrote the firſt, which ought to be excuſe enough for any*

unadviſed

unadvised Expressions; and the last I was plainly forced to publish in my own Vindication, having been openly traduced to the Honourable House of Commons. *For many important Reasons I have firmly resolved never hereafter to intermeddle in any* Religious Controversies, *but to keep myself* (*as now I am*) *very easy and contented*; provided always I be not constrained (as before) to write in my just Defence, which I shall think myself more obliged to do in relation to the Animadversions of a publick Body, than against any private Person, how considerable soever. *There is nothing less equitable or more ineffectual than condemning of Books by Wholesale, without assigning the particular Places which contradict Religion, the Laws, or good Manners. I could easily shew the ill Effects of such Proceedings in* Convocations *and other* Ecclesiastick Assemblies *in all Ages, were I not sure that you understand the History of these Things much better than I can pretend to do. I have collected occasionally in my Reading, such Passages as relate to the expunging, castrating, suppressing, burning, or other Ways of censuring Books among the* Heathens, Jews, Christians *and* Mahometans: *And were such Materials digested into a Volume on this Subject, to*

repreſent the Matter at one View to the Reader, the World would be aſtoniſhed at moſt of the Circumſtances; which convinces me, that the leſs of this is practiſed, the better it is, and more for the Honour of Religion. This I ſay not with Regard to myſelf, being prepared for whatever happens; but were it becoming me to adviſe a Perſon ſo much my Superiour in all reſpects, I would deſire you to countenance as little as may be againſt others, a Thing which has all the Appearance of Severity to make the Party odious that uſe it, and none of the intended Effects to reconcile or intimidate, but rather to provoke their Enemies. There are other Methods more juſt and reaſonable to ſecure the Eſtabliſhed Religion, *of which I own my ſelf a Member, as finding it, after due Conſideration, to be the beſt in the World, tho in many Reſpects coming ſhort of Perfection. It will not be long before I have Opportunity to acquaint the Publick with my Reaſons for this Profeſſion, both to undeceive thoſe who are pleaſed to queſtion my Religion in general, and becauſe I adhered to no peculiar Society before, but only occaſionally joined with all* Proteſtants *indifferently, againſt the Superſtition, Idolatry, and Tyranny of* Popery. *But*

not

not to digreſs, (when this Letter is but too prolix already) tho the Convocation *pretends to no Authority over Men's Perſons, yet, if you think fit to intimate your Deſire of any farther Satisfaction in theſe Matters, I ſhall readily wait on you wherever you pleaſe to appoint me. In the mean Time, I hope you'll attribute nothing I have ſaid to any greater Aſſurance, than what I ought to have of my own Innocence, and your Juſtice. If I have been miſinformed about the Proceedings of your Houſe, I beg pardon for giving you this Trouble; but if the Matter of Fact be true, I have done no more than is neceſſary. Wiſhing therefore a happy Concluſion to the Determinations of that* Aſſembly, *where you make the greateſt Figure, I am,*

Reverend Sir,

Your moſt humble Servant,

Jo. Toland.

'To this Letter the *Prolocutor* was 'pleaſed to ſend me a ſhort Anſwer; 'containing, That my Information was 'true about the Committee, and that 'they had come to ſome Reſolutions

'about

'about my Book, which they were ex-
'pected to report ſuddenly: That his
'Buſineſs was to manage the Debates of
'the Houſe, and to moderate any Diſ-
'putes that might ariſe about wording
'their Queſtions; in which Caſes, if he
'might be capable, he concludes with
'his Offers to ſerve me. As well there-
'fore to juſtify myſelf from the different
'Reports about my firſt Letter, as to
'leave them no Colour or Pretence of
'not fully underſtanding my Deſign, I
'thought fit, after due Conſideration, to
'ſend him this ſecond Letter.'

Reverend Sir,

I Thankfully acknowledge the civil Offers in your Anſwer; nor did I doubt before of your Juſtice, tho I could pretend no Title to your Favour either by Friendſhip or Merit. But you ſeem to miſtake my Deſign, for I wrote to you as a publick Perſon, in order to communicate my Letter to the Aſſembly *over which you preſide, or at leaſt to the Committee; that in ſo doing I might give them full Information and Satisfaction; or, that if they proceeded to any* Cenſure, *it ſhould be a part of my Defence. My Reſolutions of Silence about theſe or the like Matters for the future are honeſtly meant, and were fixed*

fixed a long Time before the Meeting of the Convocation, *as ſome Perſons of great Worth and Honour can teſtify. This is all that could be expected from one who cannot be brought to* recant *thoſe Errors which he never held, however uncharitably imputed to him by others. As the Deference I paid to the* Convocation *is no more than their Due, and the fartheſt imaginable from Soothing; ſo I hope no body takes for Rudeneſs, what I was obliged to ſay in my own Vindication. Flattery is as much below me, as it is above me to menace: but in dealing plainly within the Bounds of good Manners, I can never diſpenſe with myſelf. The ſpace of a Month ſhall convince the World of my Sincerity in performing what I promiſed you with reſpect to the* Eſtabliſhed Church, *which I really think to be the beſt National Conſtitution on Earth, and admirably ſuited to our Civil Government: and if my Judgment in this or any other Caſe may be thought of any Weight, it is more becoming me to declare it now, than at any Time of my Life before. But, referring to what I ſhall * publiſh on this Subject, I deſire the Favour of you to impart this and my former Letter to*

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* *In* Anglia Libera, *Sect.* 14.

your

your Houſe, *if they continue reſolved to* Cenſure *my Books. And for the reſt, I queſtion not but you, in particular, will act anſwerably to your great Character, in purſuance of your Truſt for the Intereſt of Religion, the Honour of the* Church of England, *and with no ill Intentions towards,*

Reverend Sir,

Your moſt humble Servant,

Jo. Toland.

'Having received no Anſwer to this '*Letter* (which I now underſtand was 'no more communicated to the *Houſe* 'than the Other) I took it for granted that 'I had given them intire Satisfaction 'both as to my Writings and Principles.'†

But, my Lord, we find all Mr. *Toland*'s Endeavours proved ineffectual; for the *Lower Houſe of Convocation* drew up a *Repreſentation* againſt him to the *Upper Houſe*, wherein following the Example of their *Iriſh Brethren*, they condemned *Chriſtianity not Myſterious* as an *Atheiſtical Piece*; tho neither the whole Diſcourſe, nor any part of it,

† See *Vindicius Liberius*, pag. 34.

can

can have any Senſe or Meaning but as they are founded on the Being of a Deity. I dare ſay, your Lordſhip will concur with me, that People ought to be very tender and reſerved in accuſing a Man of any Thing that manifeſtly turns to his Diſadvantage; but making one paſs for a Traytor, a Parricide, or Murderer, are nothing, even in the Eyes of the World, to charging him with *Atheiſm*: for ſuch a Perſon is not only juſtly looked upon as one that has no Reaſon or Reflection, but likewiſe as under no Ties of Conſcience, of Obligations or Oaths, when he has an Opportunity of doing Miſchief; and ſo not to be truſted in any private or publick Capacity. Beſides that, a great many People, when they are confidently told by thoſe on whoſe Judgment and Sincerity they depend (ſuch as their Spiritual Guides) that any Man is an *Atheiſt*, they preſently conclude him Guilty of all thoſe Immoralities, which they take to be the Natural Conſequences of his Opinion; and, without farther Examination, they actually charge him with all the ill Things that come into their Heads. This is taken on Truſt by others; and ſo let the Perſon be Innocent as a Child, yet his Vindication will never probably reach ſo many as are prejudiced againſt

him, and his crafty Enemies thus ſecurely gratify their Malice or Revenge. *'Tis no matter for Truth, calumniate ſtoutly, ſomething will ſtick.* I ſhall conclude this Article, with the Author's *moſt ſolemn Proteſtation*, ſubmitting it to the Judgment of every Reader, to believe it *real* or *feigned*, as his Heart ſhall dictate to him— Mr. *Toland*'s Words are theſe:

'I ſolemnly profeſs to the World, and 'make my Appeal to Heaven, that in 'writing *Chriſtianity not Myſterious*, I 'neither doubted myſelf of the Wiſdom, 'Goodneſs, or Power of God; nor in the 'leaſt intended to bring others into 'any Scruples about his Attributes or 'Exiſtence; and, whatever Errors or 'Miſtakes there may be in that Treatiſe, 'yet I challenge all my Accuſers to diſ-'cover any Thing in the ſame, directly 'or indirectly, expreſſed or implied, as 'tending to Atheiſm, which I execrate 'and abhor from the Bottom of my Soul; 'or if any of the *Lower Houſe* thought 'me to be truly guilty of this moſt hei-'nous of all Crimes, why would they not 'hear me at my own Requeſt, when I 'might either vindicate myſelf from this 'foul Aſperſion, or be thoroughly con-'vinced of ſo dangerous an Error in ſuch

'a

'a numerous and learned Aſſembly of '*Divines?*'

The Anſwer to this Queſtion, my Lord, being only proper for the *Clergy* to give; I ſhall next proceed to lay before your Lordſhip, his *Letters to* Serena, the Occaſions of writing which, he thus ſeverally accounts for: *viz.* The Subject of the Firſt Letter, is, *The Origin and Force of Prejudices*, not from their Phyſical, but their Moral Cauſes. The Occaſion was, upon producing that Paſſage of *Cicero* (lib. 1. *De Leg.*) where he ſays, '* Neither Parents, or Nurſe, or School-'Maſter, or Poet, or Play-Houſe, *de-'praves our Senſes*, nor can the Conſent 'of the Multitude *miſlead them*: but all 'ſorts of Traps are laid to *ſeduce our 'Underſtandings*, either by *thoſe* whom 'I juſt now mentioned, *who* when they 'receive *us* tender and ignorant, *infect* 'and *bend us* as *they pleaſe*; or elſe by 'that *Pleaſure* which lies ſo deeply 'rooted in every one of our Senſes, the '*pretended Follower* of *Good*, but the '*real Mother* of all *Evils*, corrupted by wh oſe *Allurements*, we do not ſuffici-'ently diſtinguiſh *thoſe Things* that are

* Senſus noſtros non Parens, non Nutrix, non Magiſter, non Poeta, non Scena depravat, &c.

'*good by Nature*, becauſe they want 'this *Softneſs* and *Titillation*.' Upon this Paſſage Mr. *Toland* has drawn an agreeable and lively Picture, of the *Prejudices in all Conditions of Men*. 'We no ſooner ſee the Light, ſays he, 'but the grand Cheat begins to delude 'us from every Quarter.' The very *Midwife* hands the Child into the World with ſuperſtitious Ceremonies, nor is the *Prieſt* behind hand, to initiate him betimes into his Service, by pronouncing certain *Forms of Words* as ſo many *powerful Charms*, &c. thereby ſecuring him as his own Right and Property for the future. This ſhows how early thoſe about him begin to infect him (if they could) with their own Miſtakes, and how induſtriouſly every one with whom he has afterwards to do, endeavours to deprave his Reaſon from the very beginning; ſo that not remembering when, or where, or how he came by many of his Notions, he is tempted to believe that they proceed from Nature itſelf, and is aſtoniſhed to find that any ſhould call the Truth of them in Queſtion. Nay, ſo far does the Seducement reach, that, when he is tranſmitted from the *Nurſe* to the *School-Maſter*, being dinned in the Ears with Stories of *Dæmons*, *Witches*, and *Apparitions*, he is brought to *Think*, when

he

he is *but puzzled*, that he is *convinced*, and *greedily ſwallows* what he cannot *comprehend*. From *School*, he is attended to the *Univerſity*, and from *thence*, enters the *Publick Scenes* of *Life*; in paſſing through which, (as is obſerved in the concluſion of this Letter) every one is wholly ſecured by a *right Uſe* of his *Underſtanding* againſt all *Illuſions*, and content with what he *already knows*, and pleaſed with *New Diſcoveries*, without thinking himſelf concern'd in things *inſcrutable*; not led like a *Beaſt* by *Authority* or *Paſſion*, but *giving Law* to his *own Actions* as a *free* and *reaſonable Man*.

The Second Letter contains *The Hiſtory of the Soul's Immortality among the Heathens*; occaſioned by recommending to a Lady the peruſal of a *French* Tranſlation of *Plato*'s *Phædo*. She wondered that the reading of that Book could add any Force to *Cato*'s Reſolution of laying violent Hands on himſelf; acknowledging that ſhe found little cogent Evidence, and a world of precarious Suppoſitions, throughout that whole tedious *Dialogue*. Mr. *Toland* aſſured her, that Divine Authority was the ſureſt Anchor of our Hope, and the beſt, if not the only Demonſtration of the *Soul's Immortality*. In this Letter, he aſcertains

aſcertains the Time when this Opinion begun among the Heathens, and ſhows the gradual Progreſs of it through all the Parts of the Earth then known, together with the true Original of the Poetical Fables concerning the *Elyſian* Fields, the Rivers, Judges, Gates, and Ferry-Man of Hell, of Souls being diſquieted for want of orderly Burial, and manifeſt Proofs that the ancient *Egyptians* were the genuine Fountains of all Learning and Religion to the Heathen World. He has likewiſe proved, that the Opinion of *the Soul's Immortality* had not its beginning from the Philoſophers, as making ſuch an Inference from the Spontaneous Motions, Reaſoning, or Speech of Men; but, on the contrary, he has ſhown this Notion among the Heathens to have been firſt taken up by the Mob, popular Traditions often becoming the Doctrines of Philoſophers, who ſtrive to ſupport by *good Reaſons* what the others begun with *none*, or *very bad ones*. 'The 'Druids (ſays he) who taught the 'Tranſmigration of Souls, borrowed 'their Letters from the *Greeks*, and 'probably their Philoſophy, as *Julius* 'Cæſar in expreſs Words informs us.' This might eaſily be done by means of the moſt ancient *Greek* Colony of *Marſeilles*, famous for Arts and Learning.

ing. They might have a Communication with thoſe of the *Grecian* Country and Religion behind them in *Italy*. And from their Neighbours the *Germans*, (who are often comprehended under the Name of *Celts*, as well as themſelves) they might likewiſe receive the Doctrine of *Zamolxis*. But, however this could happen, *Lucan* in the firſt Book of his *Pharſalia*, ſings of the *Druids*, and thoſe Nations in this manner.

The Druids *now, while Arms are heard no more,*
Old Myſteries, and barb'rous Rites reſtore:
A Tribe who ſingular Religion love,
And haunt the lonely Coverts of the Grove.
To theſe, and theſe of all Mankind alone,
The Gods are ſure reveal'd, or ſure unknown.
If dying Mortals Dooms they ſing aright,
No Ghoſts deſcend to dwell in dreadful Night:
No parting Souls to griſly Pluto *go,*
Nor ſeek the dreary ſilent Shades below:
But forth they fly Immortal in their Kind,
And other Bodies in new Worlds they find.
Thus Life for ever runs its endleſs Race,
And like a Line, Death but divides the Space,
A Stop which can but for a Moment laſt,
A Point between the Future and the Paſt.

Thrice happy they beneath their Northern Skies,
Who that worſt Fear, the Fear of Death, deſpiſe;

Hence

Hence they no Cares for this frail Being feel,
But ruſh undaunted on the pointed Steel;
Provoke approaching Fate, and bravely ſcorn
To ſpare that Life which muſt ſo ſoon return.

ROWE.

This was the Notion of the *Soul's Immortality*, among thoſe People who were not illuminated by Divine Revelation. They had ſeveral Diſputes about the *Soul's Pre-exiſtence*, *Duration*, *Eſſence*, and the *Manner* and *Time* of its *coming into the Body*, its *leaving of it*, and *their Union together*. Nor have the *Modern* Philoſophers ſucceeded any better than the *Ancients*, and among *both* of them, ſcarce any *Two* were of a *Mind*; 'where-'as, in my Opinion (ſays Mr. *Toland*) the 'Moderns have not the ſame right to ex-'amine this Matter as the *Ancients*, but 'ought humbly to acquieſce in the Autho-'rity of our Saviour *Jeſus Chriſt*, who 'brought Life and Immortality to light.'

In the Third Letter, your Lordſhip will find *The Origin of Idolatry*, explained after a very different manner from what is commonly received. There alſo we may read the firſt Cauſes of the Heathen Temples, Prieſts, and Altars, their Feaſts, and Sacrifices; of Images, Statues, and Tutelary Powers; of Ghoſts, Spectres, Oracles, Magick,

and

and Judiciary Aſtrology; with the Reaſons how People came to imagine that Heaven (or the Palace of the Good) was over their Heads, and that Hell (or the Priſon of the Wicked) was under their Feet; why they look up when they Pray, and ſeveral other Things of this Nature, for which it is generally imagined no Account can be given beſides Cuſtom, or that in the Abyſs of Time, and under the Ruins of proper Monuments, ſuch Originals are irrecoverably buried. Reaſons are likewiſe given in this Letter for the principal of the Heathen Rites, the odd Deſcriptions they have made of their Deities, the ungodlike Hiſtories they relate of their Actions, and other Particularities which have been long regarded as the Fictions of Poets, or the Extravagancies of Human Imagination, but no way to be probably reduced to the Exactneſs of Hiſtory. And laſt of all is explained the Threefold Diviſion of the Heathen Theology into Natural, Civil, and Poetical, with the Allegorical Interpretation of their Myſteries, and a Parallel of their Practices with the Corruptions of Chriſtianity; whereby it appears, that in all Ages, *Superſtition is actually the ſame, however the Names of it may vary.* From what he had *before* obſerved concerning the *Origin* of

Ghoſts and *Aſtrology* among the *Heathens*, he *now* produces this beautiful Paſſage of *Lucan*, to ſhow that they were addicted to all manner of *Divination* and *Magick*.

Of all the Flitting Shadows of the Slain,
Fate doubts which Ghoſt ſhall turn to Life again.
At her ſtrong Bidding (ſuch is her Command)
Armies at once had left the Stygian *Strand;*
Hell's Multitudes had waited on her Charms,
And Legions of the Dead had ris'n to Arms.
Among the dreadful Carnage ſtrew'd around,
One, for her purpoſe fit, at length ſhe found;
In his pale Jaws a ruſty Hook ſhe hung,
And dragg'd the wretched lifeleſs Load along:
Anon, beneath a craggy Cliff ſhe ſtaid,
And in a dreary Delve her Burthen laid;
There evermore the wicked Witch delights,
To do her Deeds accurs'd, and practiſe helliſh Rites †.

ROWE.

This whole Diſſertation is a memorable Proof and Inſtance to what an aſtoniſhing degree of Extravagance human Nature is capable of arriving. But if any ſhould wonder how Men could leave the direct and eaſy Path of Reaſon to wan-

† Quis labor hic ſuperis, &c.—— *Lucan.* Lib. VI.

der

der in ſuch inextricable Mazes, let him but conſider how in very many and conſiderable Regions the plain Inſtitution of *Jeſus Chriſt* could degenerate into the moſt abſurd Doctrines, unintelligible Jargon, ridiculous Practices, and inexplicable Myſteries: and how almoſt in every corner of the World, Religion and Truth could be changed into Superſtition and Prieſtcraft.

The other Pieces in this Volume, are two Philoſophical Letters. The Firſt was ſent to an exceſſive Admirer of *Spinoſa*, one wholly addicted to his Principles, and reputed the beſt of any to underſtand his Syſtem. This Gentleman having been aſſured by Mr. *Toland*, that the whole *Fabrick of that Philoſophy* was without any *ſolid Foundation*; of which he laying immediate hold, 'would 'never (*ſays he*) let me be quiet, till, 'getting leiſure enough in a lonely Coun-'try-Retirement, I wrote this Letter. 'Being a Perſon of extraordinary Can-'dour, he freely acknowledged *Spinoſa* 'to be defective in that Point, and conſe-'quently in all that depended on it; 'tho he had never obſerved ſo much be-'fore, and ſome other *Spinoſiſts* ſhowed 'the ſame Ingenuity.' But he freely acknowledges the diſlike your Lordſhip expreſſed of the latter part of that Letter,

wherein he declared his own Opinion, that *Motion is eſſential to Matter no leſs than Extenſion*, and that *Matter* neither ever was, nor ever can be, a ſluggiſh, dead, and inactive Lump, or in a State of abſolute Repoſe.

To the ſeveral Objections, my Lord, you were pleaſed to make, he (informs us that he) returned diſtinct Anſwers in the *Second Letter* upon this Subject, and thus argues from it.——'For the *Apo-* '*logies* I make about maintaining a 'Notion ſo flatly oppoſite both to the 'Ancients and Moderns, *the Reader* will 'be convinced that my Opinion is not 'chargeable with any of thoſe ill Con-'ſequences to which at firſt Sight it 'may ſeem obnoxious: for I fancy I have 'made it very clear, that *Motion* is but '*Matter* under a *certain Conſideration*, 'tho it does not imply or exhauſt the 'whole Idea of *Matter*, no more than '*Extenſion* does.——Indeed it would 'be a Contradiction that *Motion* was eſ-'ſential to *Matter*, and yet that only '*ſome parts* of *Matter*, and on *certain* '*Occaſions*, were endowed with a Power 'of *moving themſelves*; whereas *Matter* 'may as well be ſometimes without *Ex-*'*tenſion* as without *Motion*, if there be 'any weight in my Allegations; tho nei-'ther *this*, nor *that*, nor any *other par-*

'*ticular*

'*ticular* Direction of its *Motion* be *es-*
'*ſential* to it, but left to the *ordinary*
'*Determinations* of the *mutual Action*
'*of Bodies on one another*, or to the
'*immediate Power, and moſt wiſe Pur-*
'*poſe of Almighty God.* But to ſay that
'*God* may take *Motion* from *Matter*,
'tho it were *eſſential* to it, is to ſay,
'that he can make it *no Matter*.'

He well obſerves in the Concluſion of his Preface, that there is nothing *in theſe Letters* 'but what may be read without 'Paſſion by thoſe of all Parties, Sects, 'and Factions. Theſe are only innocent 'Reſearches into the venerable Ruins of 'Antiquity, or ſhort Eſſays in Philoſophy 'not calculated to offend any, but to 'pleaſe all; and to Divert, if they are 'not capable to Inſtruct.'

The High-Church Clergy having again attacked Mr. *Toland*, I ſhall cloſe this Article, my Lord, with his true Character of Dr. *Sacheverell* (who had very injuriouſly traduced him in a Libel, intitled, *The Character of a Low-Church-man*) *That Perſon*, ſays he, *has pleaſed ſo very few by his furious and intemperate way of Writing, not to ſpeak of his want of Knowledge as well as want of Civility, and indeed the very Deſign of his Libel was ſo extremely wicked, to oppreſs* SOME, *and to divide us* ALL, *that*

that without regard to him, or those of his Kidney, I may venture to declare myself a Low-Churchman *at* Home, *and an* Occasional Conformist *with the* Protestants *abroad.*

Upon all Points of Controversy, *your Lordship* knows Mr. *Toland*'s usual Declaration to have been, That he never was over confident of his own Judgment: 'I shall ever pay, *says he*, all 'reasonable Deference and Submission to 'the deliberate, serious, prudent, impar-'tial and peaceable Deliberations of any 'Society of Men; but yet without they 'inlighten my Understanding, and con-'vince my Judgment, it is impossible for 'me to give them my Assent in perplexed 'or dubious Matters, much less to be 'sway'd in any Thing by their bare Au-'thority against the clear Persuasion of my 'own Mind.'

Such were the Sentiments of the *Immortal* Tillotson! who, in his admirable Sermon concerning *Stedfastness in Religion*, declares, that *it is neither Immodesty, nor a culpable Singularity, for a Man to stand alone in the Defence of the Truth.* For, adds that venerable Prelate in the same Discourse,—— *If all the great Mathematicians of all Ages,* Archimedes *and* Euclid, *and* Appollonius, *and* Diophantus, *&c. could be supposed*

posed to meet together in a General Council, *and should there declare in the most solemn manner, and give it under their Hands and Seals, that* twice Two *did not make* Four, *but* Five, *this would not move me in the least to be of their Mind. Nay, I, who am no Mathematician, would maintain the contrary,* and would *persist in it, without being in the least startled by the positive Opinion of these great and learned Men: and should most certainly conclude, that they were either all of them out of their Wits, or that they were biassed by some Interest or other, and swayed against the clear Evidence of Truth, and the full Conviction of their own Reason, to make such a Determination as this. They might indeed* over-rule *the Point by their* Authority; *but, in my* Inward Judgment, *I should still be where I was before.* And to shew that a Man ought not to be put out of Countenance by the Name of a *Church*, or be borne down by the Number of a *Council*, the concurring Judgment of Mr. *Hooker* with Archbishop *Tillotson*, cannot be enough deservedly admired. *Altho Ten Thousand* General Councils (says that most learned Divine) *should set down one and the same Definitive Sentence concerning any Point of Religion whatsoever, yet one demonstrative Reason alledged, or*

one Testimony cited from the Word of God himself to the contrary, could not chuse but oversway them all: inasmuch as for them to be deceived, is not so impossible, as it is that demonstrative Reason, or divine Testimony, should Deceive. And again, *That the Authority of Men should prevail with Men, either against or above Reason, is no part of our Belief. Companies of learned Men, tho they be never so Great and Reverend, are to yield unto Reason, the Weight whereof is no whit prejudiced by the Simplicity of the Person which doth alledge it; but being found to be sound and good, the bare Opinion of Men to the contrary must of necessity stoop and give place* †. This he conceives to be the Judgment of the *Church of England* as well as his own; so did *Cranmer, Jewel, Chillingworth,* with the most applauded and respected Writers since the *Reformation.*

The next Pieces, *my Lord,* which fall under Consideration, are his *Nazarenus* and *Tetradymus*; but the Objections to the *former* of them being so recent, and the *latter* being the Subject of a Controversy now on foot, I shall leave the Points therein treated of, to be debated by the Parties

† See, *Ecclesiastical Polity*, pag. 25, 26, & seq.

imme-

diately concerned: Nor dare I venture to give any other Account of the *Pantheiſticon*, than barely a recital of the Title of it, (in the Catalogue of Mr. *Toland*'s Works hereunto annexed) leſt I ſhould be ſtigmatized with the opprobrious Name of a *Free-Thinker* in the Eccleſiaſtical Senſe of that Denomination; tho I ſhall ever be proud to own it as an honourable Characteriſtick among thoſe of your Lordſhip's unerring Judgment.

Having thus, *my Lord*, gone through the moſt conſiderable of Mr. *Toland*'s *Writings*, there yet remains about half a dozen ſmall *Political Pamphlets*, moſt of which, as they relate to ſome Points he afterwards more largely diſcuſſed, I have thought the bare mention of them ſufficient: And as I was out of Town for ſome Months before his late violent Indiſpoſition, I muſt refer your Lordſhip to the Account I received from our ſincere Friend Mr. ———, who was with him at the Time of his Departure. I am,

My Lord,

With the profoundeſt Reſpect,

Your Lordſhip's moſt obedient

humble Servant, &c.

London, May 10. 1722.

To Mr. *****

SIR,

St. *James's*,
March 15. 17$\frac{21}{22}$.

POOR *Toland* has breathed his laſt—and on the 13*th* Inſtant, his Remains were decently Interred in the Church-yard of *Putney*. He had, as I am told, for about four Years paſt, lived a recluſe Life at a *Carpenter*'s Houſe in that Village. A ſevere *Rheumatiſm* had hung long upon Him, which turning to the *Black-Jaundice*, attended with a *Fever*, proved Mortal to him about three of the Clock on *Sunday* Morning, the 11*th* Inſtant, in the 53*d* Year of his Age.

He behaved himſelf throughout the whole Courſe of his Sickneſs with a Philoſophick Patience, an entire Reſignation to the Divine Will, and was thoroughly ſenſible of his approaching Diſſolution: For, upon his appearing ſomewhat more than ordinary chearful, the Day before he died, and my telling him that *I hoped he was better*; he replied quick upon me, *Sir, I have no hopes but*

but in God *. A few Minutes before he expired, looking earneſtly at ſome Friends that were in the Room, and being asked *if he wanted any thing*, he anſwered with the greateſt Reſolution, *I want nothing but Death*. He had ſome Hours before his Departure delivered the Keys of his Trunk to our valuable and worthy Friend Mr. *W*——, and before Witneſs conſigned to Him all his printed Books both there and elſewhere, together with his Manuſcripts, as a ſmall Token of his Gratitude for the many Favours he had received from Him. His Landlady told me, that Mr. *W*—— had been ſo very kind to promiſe the Diſcharge of his Debts, had ordered the Ground to be marked where he was buried, and expreſſed his Intention of putting a Stone over him. As you have often remarked, the Clamours

* *Agreeable to this Expreſſion, was his Declaration in his* Nazarenus, pag. 69. 'For my own part, (*ſays he*) I readily acknowledge, that no Man can merit any thing of God by his good Works, be they ever ſo many or great; and that whatever he receives, is by meer Grace and Mercy, even the beſt of us being, ſtrictly ſpeaking, *Unprofitable Servants*.'

And in another Place, 'I appeal (*ſays he*) to all moderate, ſerious and learned Divines not biaſſed, whether I have ever ſhown by any of my Writings that I am an Enemy to *Religion*, tho avowedly ſo to Superſtition. Religion *pure* and *perfect*, as it was originally taught, without the corrupt Additions and Alterations of ignorant or intereſted Perſons, I both profeſs and recommend. *Preface* to *Tetradymus*, pag. xvii.'

againſt his Writings, were wholly undeſerved, and proceeded chiefly from thoſe Upſtarts who envied his Learning, from ſome inſolent conceited Prieſts, or from thoſe bigotted Enthuſiaſts who never read them, or could not have underſtood them if they had.

I heartily wiſh, that all thoſe Perſons who ſo readily give into the vile practice of Calumniating the Memories of ſuch as differ from them in their narrow confined Notions of Things, would ſeriouſly lay that moſt excellent Scripture Caution to heart, *Let him that is free from Sin, caſt the firſt Stone.*

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REGIA
MONACENSIS.

I am, Sir,

Yours, &c.

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Pride,

Pride, Emulation and Cruelty of their Archbiſhop *Cyril*, commonly (but undeſervedly) ſtiled *St. Cyril.* 4. *Mangoneutes*: being a Defence of *Nazarenus*. Addreſſed to the Right Reverend *John*, Lord Biſhop of *London*, againſt his Lordſhip's Chaplain Dr. *Mangey*, his Dedicator Mr. *Patterſon*, and (who ought to have been named firſt) the Reverend Dr. *Brett*, once belonging to his Lordſhip's Church. Price 2 *s.* 6 *d.*

XXX. *The Deſtiny of Rome.* A ſmall Tract relating to the Court of *Rome*, and their Management in the Election of a *Pope*. Price 6 *d.*

N. B. Theſe, as far as can be collected, are all the Writings of Mr. *Toland*, except a Propoſal he once publiſhed for a New Edition of *Tully*'s Works, under the Title of *Cicero Illuſtratus*. An Explanation of a Paſſage in *Tully* relating to the *Art of Printing*; in a Letter to Mr. *Wrotteſley*, printed in Mr. *Maittaire*'s *Annales Typographici.* 4*to.* A Preface to ſome Letters written by the Lord *Shaftesbury* to the Lord *Moleſworth*; and an imperfect Preface to a Pamphlet in Defence of *Frequent Parliaments*, publiſhed ſince his Death.

MANUSCRIPTS, *mentioned by Mr.* Toland *in ſeveral of his Pieces.*

I. The Hiſtory of *Socrates*. (In the *Life* of Mr. *Harrington*.)

II. Syſtems of Divinity exploded. An Epiſtolary Diſſertation. (In *Chriſtianity not Myſterious*.)

III. The Hiſtory of the Canon of the New Teſtament.

IV. *Reſpublica Moſaica* : or, The Commonwealth of *Moſes*. (Theſe two laſt in *Nazarenus*.)

V. A Treatiſe concerning *Tradition*. (In *Tetradymus*.)

How many, or which, of theſe Deſigns are executed, we know not. He was likewiſe about writing *the Hiſtory of the Druids*, the Introduction to which is finiſhed, and in the Hands of that Worthy Nobleman the Lord *Moleſworth*.

There was found upon his Table when he died, a ſmall *Latin Tract*, intitled, *Diatriba contra Medicos*, chiefly levelled againſt the Uſe of *Oils* and *Emeticks*, ſo much of late in Vogue.

F I N I S.

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BSB Bayerische StaatsBibliothek
MDZ Münchener DigitalisierungsZentrum Digitale Bibliothek

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